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sometimes put on the bow with glue made from boiled skin from the head of a buffalo. Sometimes the bow was without sinew backing and sometimes ornamented by being covered on the back with snake-skin. Bows are said to have been held either horizontally or vertically, according to individual habit. Arrows for war and hunting are said to have been alike.

Shields were made of the thickest part of buffalo-bull skin, which was laid into a hole in the ground and made hard by being scorched with hot rocks placed upon it. It was then provided with a cover of white buckskin fringed with feathers. A man who carried a shield in war sometimes had no other weapon.

It is declared that no tobacco was raised, and that none growing wild was gathered, but that it was obtained from other tribes and from the whites. This is contrary to the practice of the equally non-agricultural Blackfoot, who planted tobacco; but it would seem to accord with the lack of any information obtained from the Arapaho as to tobacco-raising.

DECORATIVE ART.

The present day decorative art of the Gros Ventre is not nearly as strongly developed as that of the Arapaho. There is much less bead-work made, and this hardly ever equals the better work of the Arapaho either in technical or artistic excellence. Quill-embroidery is also found less frequently than among the Arapaho. How far this greater poverty and inferiority of Gros Ventre decorative art are matters of some standing in time is not certain; but it seems probable that there was a difference between the two tribes in this respect, even when they first came into contact with the whites.

It is in accord with this difference that inquiry as to the symbolic or conventional significance of the decorative designs used by the Gros Ventre has been practically without result. While the failure of the Gros Ventre to render such interpretations is due perhaps in large measure to change of mode of life under the influence of civilization, yet it seems that in this respect too there must have been a temperamental difference between the Arapaho and Gros Ventre, even in earlier times; for the Arapaho preserve at least distinguished wrecks of their symbolism, ceremonies, and religious life, while among the Gros Ventre, who are in much less intimate contact with the Americans, these things have vanished, leaving often scarcely a trace, and rarely more than a memory.

Partly on account of comparative scarcity of material, and also by reason of greater artistic poverty, the decoration of the Gros Ventre does not present as many typical characteristics as that of the Arapaho, the Blackfeet, the

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Ute, and other tribes. It bears certain partial resemblances to Arapaho, Blackfoot, and Sioux decoration, and probably has been subject to their influences; but a clear determination of its special qualities is rather difficult. A consideration of some of the more prominent features of the bead and quill embroidery of the northern and western Plains tribes — especially the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Blackfeet, Sioux, Assiniboine, Ute, and Shoshone — will, however, bring out by comparison some of the leanings of the art of the Gros Ventre.

Fig. 1 (*a–n*) presents some of the more conspicuous decorative design elements among the Plains Indians.

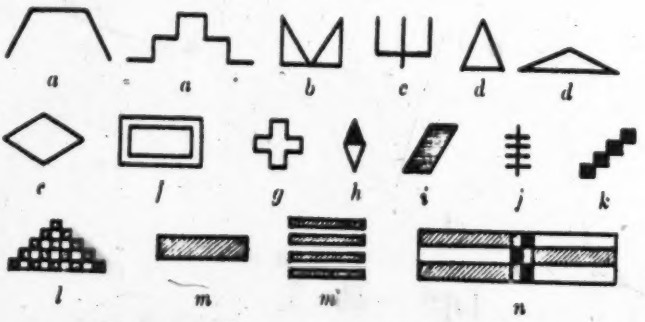

Fig. 1. Design Elements, Bead and Quill Embroidery.

Design *a* shows two schematized forms of a type of pattern that varies greatly in detail, but is always characterized by a horizontal line or bar connecting two spreading arms. The whole figure is usually worked in lines or small areas; it scarcely ever shows any heavy masses. Like the other designs considered, it is frequently only an element in patterns. It is often paired, two figures being arranged back to back, connected by a line, a diamond, acute triangles, or other design elements. This design is conspicuous in Ute bead-work. It may be called the "spreading design."

Design *b* is familiar from the Arapaho specimens that have been illustrated.[1] It may be called the "forked design." Design *c*, the "pronged design," needs no comment. The type of design *d* is the isosceles triangle. Design *e* shows the rhombus; and *f*, a square or rectangle, usually with border and centre of different colors. Element *g* is a square cross; element *h*, a well-known design called "feather" by the Sioux. Elements *i*, *j*, the slanting bar and crossed line, need no comment. Design *k*, the

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 237.

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checker-diagonal, may be a single diagonal row of squares, as here shown, or several rows arranged in checker-pattern. In design *l* the fundamental idea seems to be not so much the effect of checkered color as of steps, analogous to that of design *k*, since the Blackfeet, the great exponents of this type, sometimes make this design in a solid mass, but rarely depart from the exterior step contour which distinguishes this form from the virtually straight-lined element *d*. Design *m* is a wide short stripe or long rectangle, either standing alone, or, if in contact with other stripes, decoratively separated from them by containing an internal design. Very similar in one respect is the solid stripe of one color, the unit-element of design *n*, but entirely different in being developed into a drawn-out checker-pattern by combination with analogous stripes of other colors, as in the soft bag bead-patterns of the Arapaho.

Other important design elements — such as, for instance, the simple right-angled triangle, the leaf-design of the Sioux — are not considered here, because they seem at present of less consequence for comparative determinations.

The spreading pattern (*a*) is most developed by the Ute. It is also common among the Arapaho and Shoshone. The Gros Ventre and Sioux use it less; the Blackfeet apparently not at all.

The forked pattern (*b*) is possibly most used by the Arapaho, but occurs among the Ute, Shoshone, and Sioux, and apparently less frequently among the Gros Ventre. The Blackfeet use this design as little as the last.

The pronged design (*c*) is a third that the Blackfeet lack. It finds its greatest development among the Sioux and Assiniboine. It is rare or lacking among the Gros Ventre.

The triangle designs, both acute and obtuse (*d*), are found among all the tribes under consideration, but seem to be most characteristic of the Sioux and Arapaho.

The diamond (*e*) is apparently most frequent among the Arapaho, the Ute, and the Sioux. The two latter use it chiefly as a centre for more elaborate designs; the Arapaho, also as a separate design.

The square or box design (*f*) is most characteristic of the Sioux and Assiniboine, from whom the Gros Ventre and Crow have perhaps chiefly derived it. With the Arapaho the nearest approach usually is the small solid square the hiiteni symbol.

The square cross (*g*) has a wide distribution. It is very frequent among the Sioux. The Arapaho also use it, but less often alone, and a maltese cross, or some variation, is the form more characteristic of them.

The feather design (*h*) is most typically Sioux and Assiniboine. It is not rare among the Gros Ventre. It occurs but little among the Ute, Sho-

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shone, and Blackfeet; and there is not a single example known from the Arapaho. It is frequent among the Crow, and occurs among the Comanche and probably other southern Plains tribes.

The slanting bar (*i*) is characteristic of the Ute and Shoshone, though it never appears with great frequency. It occurs also among the Arapaho as a small design in borders.

The crossed line (*j*) is uncommon as a distinct design unit. The Gros Ventre use it more or less.

The diagonal checker-row (*k*) is pre-eminently Shoshone and Blackfoot.

The triangular step or checker pattern (*l*), often doubled to form a rhombus, is the most distinctive design in Blackfoot ornamentation. Its use by the Gros Ventre is to be attributed to Blackfoot influence. It crops out occasionally elsewhere, as among the Arapaho, but is probably mostly a modification of the simple triangle (*d*), as it shows no tendency toward an interior checker-work pattern accompanying the steps on its outline.

The stripe (*m*), as the main design of a decorative area, is also distinctive of the Blackfeet. Several stripes are usually found parallel but separate, and are internally elaborated, as by transverse bars. A form occurs among the Gros Ventre as a border design. The general outline of this pattern is similar to that of the next design, the drawn-out checker, as its constituent stripes are three abreast, in contact, and succeed each other end to end; but there is a total dissimilarity of decorative effect from the checker-pattern, brought about by the division of the stripe elements into right-angled triangles of different colors; so that to the eye the contained triangles, rather than the including rectangles, stand out.

The lengthened checker-pattern (*n*) is regularly used for the top and sides of Arapaho soft bags. The Gros Ventre and other tribes employ it for the same purpose. The occurrence of this pattern is therefore determined functionally as much as tribally.

The following, accordingly, are the chief characteristics of the several tribes as regards the use of these decorative elements in bead-embroidery.

The Arapaho frequently use the forked design, the triangle, and diamond, also, in certain cases, the lengthened checker-pattern. The spreading and pronged designs, the cross, and the slanting bar, occur. The Sioux feather design, the Gros Ventre crossed-line design, and the three most characteristic Blackfoot designs, — the diagonal checker-row, the checker or step triangle, and the short or separate stripe, — are as good as wanting.

The southern tribes — such as the Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita, and to a certain extent the eastern Apache — have little solid bead-work: they employ simple and small designs as isolated figures to give variety to the

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narrow white stripes and edgings that characterize their embroidery. Among these subsidiary designs are the feather, the square, the cross, the triangle, and the slanting bar.

The Blackfeet use especially the three designs mentioned,— the diagonal checker-row, the checker or step triangle, and the stripe. A few others, such as the cross and the feather, occasionally occur: still others, such as the spreading and forked designs, are lacking.

The Ute and Shoshone designs are much alike. The Ute have especially developed and varied the spreading design; but simple forms of this are not rare among the Shoshone. Both tribes frequently use the forked design. The pronged design, the triangle, the slanting bar, and occasionally the diamond, are found among both. The Shoshone sometimes employ the diagonal checker-row Otherwise both tribes lack the typical Blackfoot designs, as well as the characteristically Sioux square, cross, and feather.

The Sioux and Assiniboine perhaps employ the square, cross, and feather no more frequently than the pronged, forked, and triangle designs, but they share the latter with other tribes, such as the Arapaho; whereas the square and feather, and perhaps the wide rectangular cross, are much less frequent among the other tribes. The Sioux, for the most part, lack the characteristic designs of the western tribes,— the diagonal checker and the stripe of the Blackfeet, the crossed line of the Gros Ventre, the spreading design of the Ute.

The Crow resemble both the Sioux and the Blackfeet. Typical designs are the feather, the square, the slanting bar, and the separate stripe.

The Gros Ventre use the forked design, the triangle, the box-square, the feather, the stripe, and the Arapaho pattern-stripe. The spreading design and the cross are not very common. Their form of the stripe has been mentioned as being usually a complex of colored right triangles. The diamond, the slanting bar, and the prongs are rare among them. The crossed line, which is practically absent among other tribes, must not be regarded as the characteristic Gros Ventre figure. It occurs only occasionally, almost always alternating with a step-triangle of the Blackfoot type.

As regards the color of the background of bead-work on which these designs are made, there are certain well-marked tribal habits. White is the most common color, and is at least frequent among every tribe. The Arapaho, however, are alone, among those here considered, in using it almost exclusively. The Cheyenne use much white, but show also a distinct leaning toward yellow. The Ute use various backgrounds, but white is the most frequent. Among the Shoshone a light grayish blue is much used besides white. The Sioux use various colors, but chiefly white, light blue, and yellow. The Crow use colored backgrounds considerably. The Blackfeet

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use much less white than any of the other tribes: their characteristic backgrounds are light red, yellow, and blue. The Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita, and Apache use white very predominatingly; but they show very few solid backgrounds of embroidery, their bead-work rarely consisting of more than stripes and borders. The Gros Ventre type is as indeterminate as their designs. It is only possible to say that besides various colors, such as red and light blue, white is considerably used.

It appears from this examination that the tribes under consideration form at least four groups as regards their bead-embroidery. The Blackfeet stand alone. The Sioux and Assiniboine form a second unit. The Arapaho, Ute, and Shoshone are a third; the more southerly tribes using outline embroidery, the fourth. Within their group the Arapaho show closer resemblance to the Ute than to the Shoshone. The Arapaho also have a good deal in common with the Sioux. The position of the Cheyenne is not certain: they certainly have partial resemblances to both Arapaho and Sioux, as their historical and ethnographical situation would lead one to infer. The Crow appear to be intermediate between the Blackfeet and the Sioux. The Gros Ventre show distinct approximations to all three of the northern groups, in the third, of course, especially to the Arapaho. Neither their Blackfoot nor their Sioux characteristics seem fundamental. Their present art shows little character of its own.

It is not probable that the groups here distinguished will stand without modification. With fuller knowledge regarding the Bannock, Crow, Cheyenne, Kiowa, Comanche, and the village and eastern and southern tribes, as well as those of the Columbia drainage, new and wider groups are almost certain to be determined. In this event the Arapaho, for instance, may appear more properly to belong with the Sioux than with the Shoshone; but their relations to the latter, and the similarities among the several tribes as they are here indicated, whether they prove finally to be fundamental or only subsidiary, are already quite clear.

The types of designs discussed occur more or less on all classes of objects decorated with embroidery, but are especially characteristic of larger areas of decoration, as on pouches, leggings, and tobacco-bags. Where there are special forms or limited areas, there is usually a more restricted type of ornamentation. Thus the quill-wound, close-set fringe of tobacco-bags lends itself best to heavy rectilinear designs, and squares and crosses are the result. Moccasins also furnish a special decorative field, in which the decoration is in great measure directly dependent on the form of the object; so that the distribution of the designs already discussed applies to moccasins only in part, and their ornamentation needs some separate consideration.

Some of the chief types of moccasin ornamentation are shown in Fig. 2

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(*a*–*o*). The first four forms have been discussed in connection with the description of Arapaho moccasins.[1] They may all be considered as consisting of one of two simple elements (the longitudinal dividing stripe and the sub-border), or of combinations and developments of these two elements. Subsidiary designs usual within these stripes and borders need not be considered here, as they do not affect the ornamentation of the moccasin as a whole.

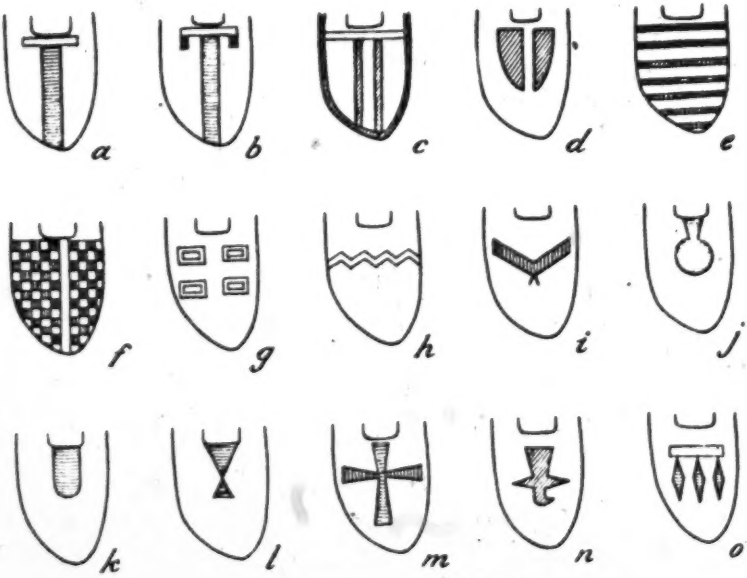

Fig. 2. Types of Designs on Moccasins.

The forms shown in *e* and *f* — the red-line and checker designs, the former usually executed in red quill-work, the latter in beads — may be regarded as forming a second class, in which the entire front of the moccasin is covered with one geometric pattern. All the remaining types can be grouped into a third class, consisting of forms having a figure in the middle of the decorable space on the front of the moccasin, this figure neither filling the entire space nor bearing any exact relation to its outline. Simple forms of some of the more frequent designs of this middle-figure class are here given, such as the four-squares (*g*), the transverse-zigzag (*h*), the crossing angle (*i*), the circle or head (*j*), the oval or U (*k*), the tent (*l*), the cross (*m*), the bird (*n*). A

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 36–46.

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fifteenth type may be regarded as comprising the moccasins in which a single figure of very variable shape, but always comparatively small, occupies the centre of the otherwise unbroken front area. The U-figure is sometimes symmetrically angular. The cross can also be regarded as a development of the stripe; but, as its shape is almost invariably maltese and not rectangular, it is perhaps usually an independently developed figure.[1]

The Gros Ventre moccasins shown belong to types *d* (Fig. 3), *i* (Plate VIII, Fig. 3), and *j* (Plate VIII, Fig. 2). The moccasin in Plate VIII, Fig. 1, does not belong clearly to any of the typical forms.

Fig. 3 (50–1824 a). Moccasin. Length, 19 cm.

The stripe-border figures constitute a majority of Arapaho moccasin designs. They occur on Cheyenne moccasins in at least a considerable number of cases. All forms of these designs are found on Sioux and Assiniboine moccasins, but all together on only one among every three or four pieces. Among the Kiowa and Comanche, many moccasins depend for ornamentation on fringes and painting as much as on bead-work: the latter in such cases consists of narrow white edging, which usually follows the stripe and border designs. Among the Ute the proportion of stripe and border designs reaches a very high proportion, even the majority of solidly beaded moccasins being of this type. Of nearly twenty Ute moccasins in the Museum, all but two are of the stripe-border pattern.[2] The related and neighboring Shoshone, however, use this pattern rarely; and the same is true of the Gros Ventre. The Crow use the stripe considerably, but usually with some modification or addition (such as the feather-design element), and only rarely in combination with the border. The Blackfeet lack stripe-border designs almost entirely.

[1] Sioux and Arapaho moccasins with the three types of designs have been illustrated in Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII. Examples of the stripe-border class of moccasins are shown in Plate I, 1–8; Fig. 5, b–f; Plate II, 3; Plate III, 1, 3, 4; Plate IV, 1; Fig. 6; Plates XXXVIII, 2, 4, 6, and XXXIX, 6; and Figs. 96 and 98. Moccasins of the second class are shown in Fig. 5, a; Plates III, 2, and XXXVIII, 1 (red-line pattern); Fig. 5, e; and Plate LIV, 2 (checker-pattern). Moccasins with the third type of ornamentation are shown as follows: Four-squares, Plates XXXVIII, 1, and LII, 2; transverse-zigzag, Plates III, 5, and XXXVIII, 5; angle-across, Plates II, 2, XXXIX, 2, and Fig. 97; round-head, Plates LII, 1, and LIV, 1; cross, Plates I, 8, and XXXIX, 5; bird, Plate XXXIX, 4; a small figure in the centre, Plates II, 4, 5, LII, 3, and LIV, 3.

[2] These two show the round-head and the angle-across designs, which reach great frequency among the Shoshone and Gros Ventre.

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Designs of the second class, the red-line and checker-patterns, are most frequent among the Sioux and Arapaho. There are a few Shoshone and Gros Ventre examples. The Blackfeet largely lack designs of this class.

Of the several designs of the third class, the squares and the transverse-zigzag (*g*, *h*) are not very common. They are frequent among the Sioux and Assiniboine, especially the former pattern, as is to be expected from the prevalence of the square-box design in the bead-work of these two tribes.

The angle-across design (*i*) and the round-head or circle design (*j*) are the most persistent of the designs of the third class, and the former especially has a wide distribution. The angle is found least among the Arapaho, Sioux, and Ute. Among these tribes it is usually also light or open in pattern, so as not to dominate the decoration. The Cheyenne have this pattern, and it is one of the few designs used by the Blackfeet that are untypical of them. Among both Shoshone and Gros Ventre it is common, and the Crow use it. It is interesting that two Ojibwa moccasins in the Museum also show this pattern. The round-head design occurs most frequently among tribes where the angle-design is abundant, especially the Shoshone and Gros Ventre, less among the Sioux and Blackfeet. No Arapaho moccasin with this design has yet been seen. The symbolism of this figure varies. It is interpreted as a head, a spoon, feathers, or the sun.

The semi-oval or U-shaped figure (*k*) belongs more distinctly to the north and east than to the Plains. In certain regions it is the typical moccasin pattern. This figure is probably closely related to the simple stripe. It may be regarded as a wide stripe not reaching to the end of the moccasin, and rounded in front; or perhaps as an inner concentric area, slightly altered so as to be symmetrical, determined by the outline of the moccasin. In its occurrence among the Plains tribes under consideration, it does not, however, show any transitions to stripe and border patterns; and it accordingly belongs, so far as the Plains are concerned, in the class of designs bearing no specific relation to the shape of the moccasin. A few occurrences, chiefly among the Blackfeet, of angular forms having the appearance of being modifications of this U-shaped figure, can be included with it.

This design is the characteristic one of the Blackfeet, as noted by Dr. Clark Wissler.[1] It is also nearly confined to the Blackfeet within the Plains region. The Museum has a few scattering Sioux and Shoshone examples, and one from the Ojibwa; and the Field Columbian Museum exhibits a number of specimens from the Crow, though usually with the addition of the feather or pronged design element at the end of the U-figure. The U-form has not been met with among the Arapaho or the Gros Ventre, nor among

[1] Clark Wissler, Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 276.

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the tribe in many ways nearest to the Arapaho in decorative art,— the Ute. That the Gros Ventre in their century of contact with the Blackfeet have not taken up the design is of interest, and is due, possibly, to its being at bottom of so different a decorative type that it is scarcely compatible with the established style of Gros Ventre decoration.

The tent figure (*l*) is infrequent. It has been found among the Sioux and Gros Ventre.

The cross (*m*) is most common on children's moccasins. It has so far been found on Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho moccasins. It may prove to be most typically Sioux-Cheyenne.

The bird-figured moccasin (*n*) is infrequent. There are three examples in the Museum, all Sioux or Assiniboine. This design is one of the few — really the only one of those considered, besides the red-line pattern — that is usually executed in quills. It seems to go back to an old type independent of the stylistic influences of bead-work. A quill-embroidered bird moccasin is mentioned in an Arapaho myth.[1]

Type *o*, in which any small figure occupies the centre of the main decorative field on the moccasin, occurs chiefly among the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho. The figure may be the pronged design, the feather design, a triangle, a form of the forked design, or any other figure. A few Blackfoot moccasins can be included in this type, but as yet none from the Ute or Shoshone.

The chief tribal characteristics of moccasin ornamentation can be summarized as follows:—

The Ute use stripe-border designs almost exclusively. The few exceptions found are of the round-head and angle-across types, and are due perhaps to Shoshone influence.

The Arapaho use stripe-border designs in the majority of cases. They show no special predilection for any of the other designs. They lack the round-head, and their angle-across figures are not well marked.

The Kiowa and Comanche, and other southern tribes, confine themselves practically to stripe-border designs; but the bead-work of their moccasins is used mainly for outlining or edging, and solid beading is little practised, so that a turn is given to their style which sets them apart from the other tribes considered.

Cheyenne moccasins are more or less similar to those of the Arapaho, but probably show some leaning toward Sioux types.

The Sioux and Assiniboine moccasins show every type of figure discussed. All forms of the stripe-border class occur, but with less frequency than among the Ute and Arapaho. The round-head and angle-across

[1] See Traditions of the Arapaho (Field Columbian Publication No. 81, p. 291).

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occur, but less than among other tribes, and the latter shows the light forms that characterize it among the Arapaho. On the whole, the Sioux type is apparently the most mixed and inclusive of those discussed.

Among the Shoshone the designs are more frequently the round-head and angle-across than any other. They use a number of other forms, such as the red-line, checker, and transverse-zigzag. Stripe-border patterns are little developed among them.

The Crow use designs of all classes, including the stripe, the round-head, the angle-across, the red-line, and the characteristic Blackfoot U-figure, and, as in other bead-work, resemble both Blackfeet and Sioux.

The Blackfeet show by far the most specialized type, not only in the dominance of the U-shaped design, but in the absence of stripe-border patterns, which all the other tribes agree in using at least to a certain extent.[1] The chief designs that have obtained a hold among them, other than the U-figure, are the round-head and angle-across.

The Gros Ventre use a comparatively small proportion of stripe-border patterns, perhaps about in the degree of the Sioux and Shoshone. They use the Sioux-Arapaho red-line figure. Of designs of the third class, the round-head and angle-across are the most frequent.

It is evident that the distribution of these moccasin designs is primarily dependent upon geography, not upon tribal relations. The southern tribes — the Kiowa, Comanche, Ute, and Arapaho — use mainly stripe and border patterns. The northern tribes — the Shoshone, Gros Ventre, Sioux and Assiniboine, and Blackfeet — use chiefly middle-figure designs. Of these figures the most strongly developed are the round-head and angle-across. Approximation of the Shoshone and Gros Ventre proportional frequencies of these designs is to be attributed to the fact that these two tribes are situated in the same northern region of the Plains, rather than to any special cultural relations between them. The Sioux and Arapaho show certain resemblances which may be due to direct relations or to transmission by the Cheyenne. The Blackfeet alone are tribally specialized, at least if regarded as part of the Plains group of tribes. They have been somewhat influenced by the northern Plains type of design, but have not affected it. Even the inter-influence of the Blackfeet and Gros Ventre upon each other has been insignificant. The Ojibwa are not altogether out of the influence of the Plains.

Nothing was learned about the typical tribal ornamentation of Gros

[1] A series of Blackfoot, Blood, and Piegan moccasins in the Museum of the Anthropological Department of the University of California, shows many more moccasins with stripe-border and middle-figure ornamentation than of the U-type, which is contrary to the ornamentation of those in the American Museum of Natural History, of which fully half, omitting the modern leaf-figured specimens, show the U-design; and contrary also to the statements of Dr. Wissler and of Clark (Indian Sign Language, p. 60).

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Ventre robes. A child's quilled robe (Museum specimen 50–1751) agrees in general with the Arapaho style of ornamentation,[1] and is probably more or less representative of the Gros Ventre type. The style is similar to that of the quill-work on the Arapaho bag shown in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, Plate XVI). Seventeen red quilled lines pass across this robe. Four spaces, two on the lines and two at the ends, are green instead of red on each line. Originally, small green-dyed plumes seem to have been attached here also; these have now almost disappeared. At the four green spaces on the lowest line, pendants are attached. These each consist of a small loop wound with green quills, and of two thongs wound with red quills. At the ends of the thongs are small cylinders of tin from out of which issues a tuft of dyed horsehair. The seventeen embroidered lines do not stretch entirely across the robe to its edge, but occupy a rectangular area including the greater part of its somewhat irregular surface. Certain Arapaho robes are described as having been embroidered with seventeen such parallel lines, to which a group of three was added at the lower edge, where pendants were attached. An Arapaho child's robe in the Museum collections is almost identical with this in style. The ornamental spaces on the red quilled lines differ somewhat, and there are eighteen instead of seventeen lines; but the general construction and appearance are strikingly similar, even to the pendant attachments. Dr. Clark Wissler's illustration[2] of a small Sioux robe serves to give a very close idea of the present piece. Like the Arapaho robe, this Sioux one has eighteen lines. Dr. Wissler makes the point that among the Sioux such red-line embroidered robes were distinctive of women and girls; but among the Arapaho the typical robe of men is said to have been embroidered with yellow or white lines. The Field Columbian Museum has on exhibition Cree, Crow, and Sioux children's robes ornamented with from seventeen to twenty lines and with hoof pendants at the bottom.

The Gros Ventre have now entirely abandoned the use of embroidered tent-ornaments such as are still quite common among the Arapaho. A single dilapidated partial specimen was obtained, shown in Fig. 4. This is very similar to the Arapaho tent-ornaments.[3] The full set consisted of a larger, round quill-embroidered piece of skin sewed to the back of the top of a tent and called kaⁿbiitᵃⁿ ("round embroidery"), four similar but smaller ornaments put on the sides of the tent lower down, and pendants attached to the upper flaps or ears of the tent. The circular embroidered ornaments had buffalo-tails or strips of buffalo-fur, and quill-wound pendant thongs with hoofs and loops at their ends, hanging from the middle.

[1] Compare Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 29, 33, 65.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part III, Fig. 81.
[3] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 61–63.

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Of the pieces illustrated, the larger contains four black concentric circles interrupted by four black-bordered sectors. Quills, not plant fibres, have been used for this black embroidery. The lighter portions of the embroidery adjacent to the black circles seem to have been originally yellow, as the underlying protected quills are of this color, while those on the surface are

Fig. 4 (50-1829 a, b). Tent-ornaments. Diameters, 17 cm., 8 cm.

weathered white. The quills within the sectors, however, appear to have been always white. The pendants, three in number, are very much destroyed: it is evident, however, that they were wound with orange-yellow, red, white, and black quills in exactly the pattern used by the Arapaho.[1] The loops at the ends of the pendants contained red, yellow, and black quills,

[1] For description and illustration of pattern, see Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part 1, pp. 35, 65, Figs. 12, 13.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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and probably white also. The pendants on the smaller ornament are identical, and still show the hoofs at their ends. It thus appears that, whereas the main ornament has only the three colors, namely, white, yellow, and black, — found also in an Arapaho ornament [1] with which it is virtually identical, — yet the peculiar line-pattern combination of red, yellow, white, and black, characteristic of the Arapaho "tribal" style of quill embroidery, also occurs in this Gros Ventre set of ornaments.

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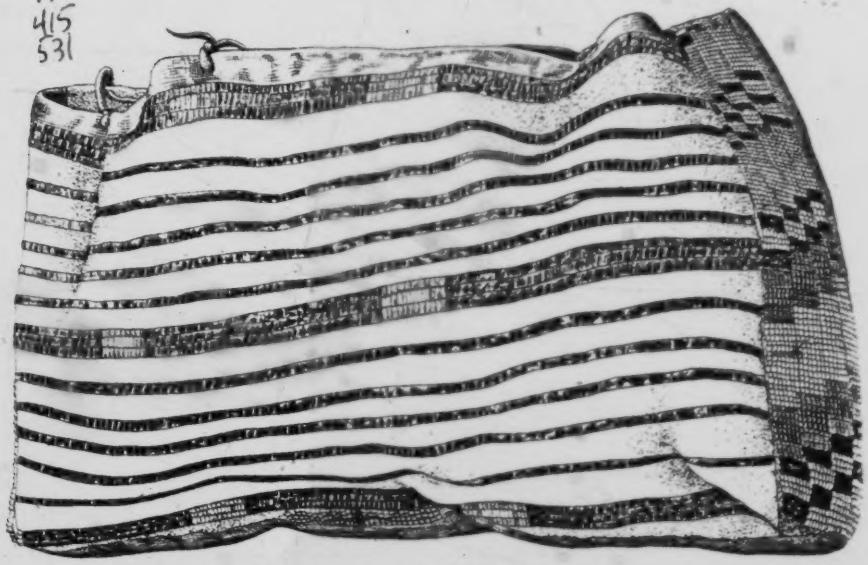

Fig. 5 (50-1738). Soft-skin Bag. Length, 21 cm.

Bags of soft skin, used chiefly for keeping and transporting clothing and small household articles, are made by the Gros Ventre very much as by the Arapaho and other Plains tribes. The ornamentation is also of the same character, consisting of red quill-embroidered lines across the front of the bag, and a pattern of bead-work (generally of alternately colored bars with cross spaces, augmented by tin and horsehair or other pendants) along the top and two side edges of the bag. This style has been illustrated for the Arapaho.[2] About half the Gros Ventre bags show the same ornamentation,

[1] Compare Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 60, Fig. 9, a.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Plate xvi.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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varied only in inessential details. The remainder introduce a characteristic variation, though the fundamental type of decoration is the same. Such a bag is shown in Fig. 5. The red quilled lines are present, but are in part grouped in threes, so as to form stripes of three times the width of the lines. In consequence of this, the small differently colored spaces on the lines become rectangles, which usually assume the box form shown in the figure,

Fig. 6 (50-4209). Soft-skin Bag. Length, 35 cm.

and more characteristic of Sioux than of Arapaho ornamentation. The number of single lines between the compound stripes varies; in some specimens it is only two or three. Sometimes the box design of the stripes is represented on the lines by an end-bordered bar, as is customary on the bags with lines only, and as appears in the bag in Fig. 6. Even the small down-feathers of the line-embroidered bags may be present on the wider stripes of this variant Gros Ventre type. The bead-work along the two ends of the bag shown in Fig. 5 is very different from that on Arapaho

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bags, recalling the typical checker and diagonal step design of Blackfoot beading. This type is, however, unusual among the Gros Ventre.

The fine bag shown in Fig. 6, collected by Dr. Clark Wissler, presents unusual quill-embroidery on its front, suggestive perhaps of Sioux influence or origin; but the bead-work on its cover and sides, and the attached tin and horsehair ornaments, are typically Arapaho, except for the fact that this tribe would be very unlikely to make any pattern without at least some proportion of white. The transverse lines of quill-work on this bag might be regarded as nothing but a further five-line development of the three-line grouping illustrated by the last figure, with an alternating bar-pattern for its chief ornamentation instead of the box figure, which in element is identical. The central figure, however, is the typical Sioux spider-web pattern described by Dr. Clark Wissler,[1] and so far without any parallel among either Arapaho or Gros Ventre, or any approach nearer than that shown in an instance of blanket painting.[2] The two parallel bars in the centre of this concave quadrilateral figure, and the diamond-shaped feather symbols at its corners, are also typically Siouan: only the last-named element is occasionally used by the Gros Ventre.

Buffalo paunches, the mouth being drawn up by a string, like a sack, were used for carrying and holding water, a paunchful being hung up in the tent. If buffalo had been killed, and it was desired to transport the meat across the Missouri, the paunches were filled with meat, blown up, tied together at the mouth, and floated. The well-known circular skin boats of the Missouri tribes were also used by the Gros Ventre for transporting clothing and property across streams.

Fig. 7 shows an ornamented food-bag of bladder. At the top is a strip of skin covered with red quill-embroidery, with square star designs in blue and white. From this strip of skin hangs a red quill-wound fringe. The thong handle of the bag is partly quilled, and has quilled thong pendants hanging from it. At the bottom of the bag a round piece of skin, covered with green-and-white quartered bead-work, is sewed on.

The navel-amulets of the Gros Ventre, which resemble those of the Arapaho in their use, are in form of a somewhat different type, as they approach more nearly to an animal's shape. They usually represent çaniwaⁿ, the "horned toad" (southern Arapaho, säniwaⁿ, a "lizard"), or sometimes a person. Their general shape is, as everywhere on the Plains, a rhomboid on end. To this the Gros Ventre add at the upper end a small rhomboid, forming the head of the animal represented. This augmented shape has not been found among the Arapaho, with whom the typical form

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 248.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 85, Fig. 138.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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is a narrow simple rhomboid.[1] The Blackfeet and Sioux make figures resembling those of the Gros Ventre, but carry the realism farther. The Sioux most frequently represent an entire animal with head, legs, and tail, much like Fig. 1 in Plate VIII of Vol. XVIII of the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History," but broader, in the shape of a turtle.[2] The Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Blackfeet use ornamented strings hanging from the corners of the rhomboid to represent limbs and tail. The Blackfeet make realistic snake amulets for their boys, and more conventional turtle or lizard-like figures, resembling those of the Gros Ventre, for their girls.

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Among the Assiniboine, and west of the Rockies among the Bannock and Ute, a reduced form of navel-amulets occurs, though perhaps it is not the only one used. It is usually small and flat, with the acute angles of the rhomboid cut off transversely, rendering the whole piece hexagonal rather than quadrilateral. Sometimes the entire edges are fringed. The relative distribution of this small form and of the other forms is not yet clear. A Shoshone amulet in the Museum is a pointed rhomboid resembling the Arapaho type, even to being quartered in its bead-ornamentation. A Kiowa specimen in the Anthropological Museum of the University of California is a plain rhombus, of Arapaho type, except in being smaller and more nearly square. The following distribution of types is at least partly correct: realistic, Sioux, Blackfoot, occasionally Arapaho; semi-realistic, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre; conventional rhomboid, Arapaho, Kiowa, Shoshone; reduced hexagonal, Assiniboine, Ute, Bannock, and perhaps Shoshone.

Fig. 7 (50-1801). Ornamented Food-bag of Bladder. Length, 20 cm.

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On Plate IX are shown three Gros Ventre navel-amulets. Fig. 3 was said to represent a horned toad, and Fig. 2, a person. It will be seen that the mouth in the former is near the end of the head; in the latter, in the lower part of the face. Both these specimens have quilled or beaded appendages at the two side corners and at the lower end. Fig. 1 has a distinct

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate VIII.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 242, Fig. 76.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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tail as well as head, a cross instead of an attempt at representative ornamentation in the bead-work on the head, and unornamented yellowed thongs as sole attachments. Another specimen (Museum No. 50–4278), not figured, is much smaller than any of the others. It resembles Fig. 3 of Plate IX in that the bead-work on its upper surface is quartered, and that there is a distinct attempt to represent eyes in the head. The attachments are short unpainted thongs with tin cones at their ends.

Of these four pieces, Fig. 1 of Plate IX and Museum No. 50–4278 are unbeaded on the lower side; Fig. 3 of Plate IX has a few curvilinear leaf-ornaments on the lower side; and Fig. 2 of Plate IX is entirely beaded on both sides, showing on the reverse a simple quartering in blue and yellow without attempted representation of animal form. It thus appears that all the pieces are ornamented with bead-work in quartering, a design found also among the Arapaho, although transverse or diagonal parallel lines, or a crossed longitudinal line, are more common among them. The specimen figured

Fig. 8. Triangular Designs on Parfleches and Bags.

in Fig. 1 of Plate IX is quartered asymmetrically. The greater flatness of Fig. 3, same plate, is due to the contents of the amulet-pouch having been removed, no doubt for preservation.

The principal form of Gros Ventre decorative art other than embroidery is painting, mainly on skin and rawhide. As to the symbolism of this painting, as little was learned as of the symbolism of embroidered designs. The style of decoration itself, however, offers some points of interest when compared with the forms of decoration typical of other Plains tribes.

Outside of robe-painting, tent-painting, and semi-realistic painting of a more directly symbolic or religious nature, the principal form of this branch of Plains decorative art is the painting of parfleches and rawhide bags. In these the decorative field is invariably rectangular, usually nearly square. Within this rectangular field, which may be merely outlined or may be heavily bordered, three principal types of design elements and combinations of elements can be distinguished. These can be called respectively the "triangular," the "square-and-triangular," and the "square."

The triangular type of design is by far the most common, taking the Plains as a whole, and among some tribes is used almost exclusively. The

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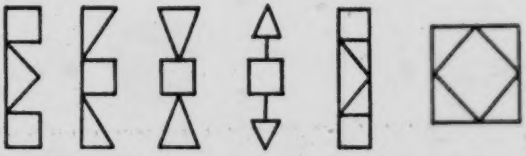
fundamental element of this form may be taken to be the right-angled triangle with one side considerably longer than the other. Two such triangles placed together give either a long and flat or a narrow and high isosceles triangle. Two such isosceles triangles placed base to base give a rhombus or diamond. From these elements, — the right-angled triangle, the isosceles triangle, and the diamond, — the designs of this first form are built up. Some of the most frequent combinations are shown in Fig. 8 (*a*-*j*). It is common to find combinations of an isosceles triangle flanked by two right-angled triangles (*e*, *f*), this pattern being disposed along the inside of the longer edges of the rectangular decorative field; while in the middle there will be either one or two, or sometimes three, figures, each of which is the double of those at the edges, consisting, accordingly, of a diamond flanked by two isosceles triangles (*g*, *h*). If there are half-patterns on the side, they usually agree with the full patterns in the middle. Sometimes diamonds are lacking, and two isosceles triangles form either a long rhomboid (*d*), or an



a *b* *c* *d* *e* *f*

Fig. 9. Square-and-triangular Designs on Parfleches and Bags.

hourglass-shaped figure (*c*), according as their bases or apices are in contact. In the same way, two rectangular triangles are combined along the edges of the decorative field (*a*, *b*). Diamonds and isosceles triangles are sometimes bisected, and occasionally the two halves are colored differently, thus emphasizing the inherent relation of these figures to right-angled triangles.

There are many subsidiary features of ornamentation accompanying those here outlined, such as borders of different colors, small triangles at the base or at the apex of isosceles triangles, reduced figures within designs, and so on. In essence, however, this first or triangular type of parfleche paintings can be considered as being built up out of right-angled triangles and combinations of right-angled triangles.

The second, or square-and-triangular, type is less common. It uses triangles much as does the first type, except that in part it replaces them by rectangles, usually squares. These squares may be placed along the edges of the decorative field, especially in the corners or in the middle. When in the middle of the field, they are of considerable size, and contain other

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figures, especially diamonds. Various characteristic forms of this type are shown in Fig. 9 (*a–f*). It will be seen that full forms, such as a square with two adjacent isosceles triangles directed toward it (*e*), are paralleled by half-forms, such as a rectangle flanked by two right-angled triangles with their apices in contact with it (*b*). A variation of this latter form may be regarded as an inversion, the two right-angled triangles being placed together in the middle to form an isosceles triangle, and this being flanked by two squares (*a*). Not infrequently this form is further developed by being combined into a continuous stripe (*c*); the ends of this stripe being squares, and the middle portion three or more triangles distinguished by color. When full figures consist of a square flanked by two triangles, with their bases instead of their apices directed toward it, these triangles are separated from the square, but the decorative unity of the pattern is retained by means of connecting lines (*d*). No perfect illustrations of this square-and-triangular type have been published in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History," either from among Arapaho or Sioux specimens, but an approximation is shown there in Plate XVIII, Fig. 2, of Vol. XVIII. Plate XIX, Fig. 3, of the same volume, while containing scarcely any square elements, also bears some general resemblance to designs of this type. Nearly all the illustrations of rawhide painting in that volume belong to the first type, the few exceptions belonging to the third.

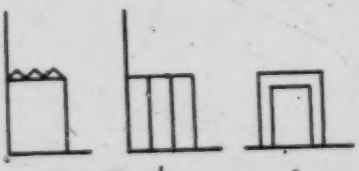

Fig. 10. Square Designs on Parfleches and Bags.

The third, or square, type of parfleche ornamentation either lacks triangular design elements altogether, or employs them as subsidiary to, or at least distinct from, the square design elements. Most frequently this type of design shows squares in the corners. It is frequently elaborated by rows of small triangles within, or adjacent to, the squares. Elementary forms are indicated in Fig. 10 (*a–c*). This is not a common type of design among any tribe, but appears to be found to some extent among all, or nearly all, Plains tribes. Two instances of its most developed form are shown in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History," in Vol. XVIII, Plate XVIII, Fig. 5, and Plate XIX, Fig. 5; while less distinctive forms are given in Fig. 34 of the same volume. Among the Arapaho there is some tendency to interpret this type of design as the bear-foot, especially when combined with rows of pointed triangles. A similar interpretation has been obtained among the Bannock. There are, of course, easy and natural

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transitions from this square type of design to the preceding, or square-and-triangular type. But there seems to be an essential difference between the two types in general character and decorative purpose; and this is made the more probable by the fact that the entirely square type is less frequent among the tribes that have developed patterns of the second, or square-and-triangular, type, than among the tribes that lack this second type. The difference between the two types is not so much in their individual design elements as in the disposition of these in the decorative field.

The tribal distribution of these three types is as follows. The first, or triangular, type is found among all tribes from which material is available. It is used, nearly to the exclusion of other types, by the Arapaho, the Sioux, and probably the Cheyenne and the Kootenay; and it predominates among all other tribes except the Shoshone. The second, or square-and-triangular, type reaches its greatest known development among the Shoshone. It is more or less employed by the Ute, and to some extent by the Blackfeet and Sahaptin. It will be seen that the Gros Ventre also employ this form. The third, or entirely square, type appears to occur somewhat sporadically among almost all tribes.

The rawhide painting of the Arapaho, besides employing design elements of the triangular type almost exclusively, is characterized by a certain lightness and openness of patterns, due to the comparatively large amount of background left white and unpainted. The patterns of right-angled and isosceles triangles and diamonds are usually narrow and long. The patterns in the middle of the field are sometimes separated from one another and from those along the edges by stripes; and in other cases full designs in the middle are split into two half-designs by such stripes. The general pattern arrangement is thus approximately one of stripes or longitudinal figures, usually from three to five in number, and consisting in element of right-angled triangles. The half-designs at the edge of the decorative field are usually directly or inversely symmetrical with those in the middle. Characteristic subsidiary features are rows of black dots, especially within white stripes, rows of small triangles at the bases of acute triangles, small black inverted single triangles at the apices of obtuse isosceles triangles, and small figures enclosed in larger design elements. These enclosed figures are usually triangles and pentagons respectively in acute and obtuse isosceles triangles. The outlines of Arapaho parfleche paintings are generally made in narrow lines of a faint black or brown. There is often some difference in pattern between stitched rawhide bags and folded parfleches; the former showing a greater tendency toward a heavy border or frame, consisting usually of a double stripe filled in with alternating triangles of two colors. The backs of bags, and occasionally of parfleches, may be striped across.

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Sioux ornamentation of rawhide is more difficult to characterize than Arapaho, although the Museum contains a good representation of specimens, a number of which have been figured.[1] The design elements of the Sioux are as preponderatingly of the first, or triangular, type as among the Arapaho. Their disposition and their relation to the decorative field are, however, less open, and it is not uncommon to find Sioux bags which are covered so completely with painting that no white background remains within the decorative field, or only so little that it becomes equivalent in function to one of the colors used. Many Sioux parfleches are heavily bordered, the wide outside design frame being as common on them as it is rare in Arapaho parfleches. Not infrequently the decorative field is divided longitudinally by a heavy stripe similar to those which frame the field. A subsidiary feature that is characteristic is the occurrence of large diamonds containing one or two longitudinal bars. Most of the typical subsidiary features of the Arapaho are either wanting or are much less common. The Arapaho parfleche design shown in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, Plate xx, Fig. 5) is typically Sioux. The one in Fig. 3 of the same plate has Sioux reminiscences. On the whole, the differences between the styles of the two tribes are not very great.

There is too little Cheyenne parfleche material available to allow a characterization; but it appears in general that the painting is similar to that of the Arapaho and Sioux, as is to be expected.

With the Shoshone[2] a new style of rawhide painting is encountered, characterized by a predominance of designs of the second, or square-and-triangular type. There are many triangular designs and design combinations, but the square-and-triangular type is so strongly impressed on Shoshone art that there are very few parfleches that do not show at least some rectangular forms. Very common is a broad stripe consisting of triangles in its middle portion and ending off in squares (Fig. 9, *f*). These squares fill the corners of the decorative field. Such border-stripes may be found occurring transversely as well as longitudinally, in which case, by forming a heavy frame, they leave a rectangular area considerably smaller than the decorative field. This area, in turn, contains designs — usually a diamond or two half-diamonds, that is to say, isosceles triangles — set point to point into an hourglass figure. In other cases the central rectangular area is more prominently developed than the border-stripes. It is in such cases that types result resembling the sporadic Arapaho forms mentioned.[3] Al-

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, Figs. 75, 82, 87–94.
[2] The Shoshone parfleches in the Museum are from Wind River and Fort Hall Reservations.
[3] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate XVIII, Fig. 2.

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gether it may be said that there is scarcely a Shoshone parfleche which does not contain either the central rectangle, squares in the corners of the decorative field in combination with triangles, or the heavy square-containing border-stripe. The open border-figures of the Arapaho, consisting of an obtuse isosceles triangle with or without flanking right-angled triangles, are scarcely ever found. The Shoshone show a fondness, as compared with the Arapaho, for heavy black or dark-blue outlines for their figures. They lack the Arapaho rows of black dots and small black apex triangles, but show the row of small acute triangles in several instances.

Ute[1] parfleche painting shows some approximation to that of the Shoshone in using the square-and-triangular patterns, but also has distinct resemblances to Arapaho. It is more open than Shoshone painting, and shows some tendency towards the Arapaho longitudinal arrangement. The square-and-triangular type of design is also much less common than among the Shoshone. Ute painting differs even more than does Arapaho from both Sioux and Shoshone in lacking the heavy frame to the decorative field found among these two tribes. In fact there are a number of Ute parfleches in the Museum that show a total absence of any framing: even the half-designs along the border, which among the Arapaho duplicate the full designs in the middle, are omitted. This is practically never done by the Arapaho. It may be estimated that a third of all Ute parfleches lack a border of any kind entirely, and that in another third only the two longitudinal sides of the decorative field are partially edged by isolated figures. A special form of Ute design, which needs no comment other than that it is quite evidently a form of the square-and-triangular type, is shown in Fig. 3 of Plate X. Although an isolated occurrence, it is not uncharacteristic, as is shown by certain approximations in parfleches and by similar forms in medicine-cases (Fig. 13). In its subsidiary features, Ute parfleche-painting resembles Arapaho rather surprisingly; the small apex triangle, the row of small basal triangles, and the small triangle, rectangle, or pentagon enclosed in a larger triangle, all being found.

Half a dozen parfleches and several bags obtained among the Bannock of Fort Hall Reservation give some idea of the position of this tribe in relation to the others. The second, or square-and-triangular, type of design elements is found, but is not so prominent as among the Shoshone. There is a well-marked tendency toward large diamonds occupying the greater part of the central area, or at least the entire length, of the decorative field. As among the Shoshone, the decorative area is well filled with designs; but it cannot be said to be crowded, because the figures are generally large and

[1] Uintah and Uncompahgre Reservations.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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simple. While there is considerable general resemblance to Shoshone designs, elements of the specifically triangular type much outweigh those of the square-and-triangular type.

The Blackfoot style of painting is rather distinctive. The elements are very predominatingly of the purely triangular type; but the decorative field as a whole is quite different from that of the Arapaho and Sioux. It is more open than the latter, and lacks the general longitudinal disposition of figures of the former. There is very frequently a light border containing triangles or diagonal bars; or the design as a whole may be regarded as consisting of a design (of acute isosceles triangles and diamonds) within a central square area around which is placed a light border containing triangles. When this frame and defined central square area are absent, there are usually no bordering figures such as characterize the Arapaho style. It is not uncommon for a figure or two figures to stand free, as it were, in the decorative field. In this respect there is a leaning toward the Ute style. The resemblances that there are to Shoshone are not so much in the occurrence of the square-and-triangular designs, for these are not numerous, as in the tendency to group smaller designs within a central square. Most of the figures employed by the Blackfeet are small relatively to the decorative field, thus differing from those of the Shoshone, Ute, and Bannock. The subsidiary decorative features characteristic of the Arapaho are wanting, except for occasional rows of small triangles. A considerable proportion of specimens, approximately one-half, show V-shaped designs on the side of the parfleche. This characteristic is also found among the Kootenay and Sahaptin, but (with the exception of sporadic cases from the Assiniboine, Sioux, Gros Ventre, and Ute) is not known to occur among other tribes. This painting on the sides of parfleches must therefore be considered distinctively western, and as more characteristic of the Pacific than of the Atlantic drainage in the Plains culture.

Two Blackfoot bags collected by Dr. Clark Wissler are shown in Plate x, Figs. 5 and 6. These are perhaps extreme cases of the typical Blackfoot tendency toward an open frame and a large central square area.

Half a dozen Kootenay parfleches and painted bags collected by the author in 1900 in northern Idaho are very uniform in style of ornamentation. They show no trace of the typical Shoshone square-and-triangular type of design, but use triangular elements exclusively. A simple but typical design is shown in Plate x, Fig. 4. It will be seen that in the general pattern there is nothing that might not well be Arapaho. Two other specimens show fundamentally the same pattern. Two others are longitudinally bisected by a wide stripe, the two resulting rectangles being internally bordered along their long sides with isosceles or right-angled triangles. Another

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specimen has two hourglass-shaped figures stretched longitudinally across the field; between these is a diamond, and on each side there are two isosceles triangles. The figures in all the specimens show the convex roundness visible in the one chosen for illustration, so that actually triangles often approach more nearly to being segments of circles than polygons.

A special subsidiary characteristic of Kootenay painting is the development of rows of small black triangles set upon the outer edges of the main figures. These were said by the Kootenay to represent the trees which, in their heavily timbered and hilly country, everywhere form the limit of vision. As just mentioned, the Kootenay also frequently use side designs on their parfleches.

A valuable collection of parfleches and some bags was made for the Museum by Dr. L. Farrand among the Salishan. Considering that the habitat of these people is in Oregon, the general similarity of their art, as of most sides of their material culture, to that of the Plains Indians of for instance Dakota and Kansas, is very remarkable. In their rawhide painting the Salishan show a somewhat greater tendency to use designs of the square-and-triangular type than do the Kootenay, although such designs are neither very frequent nor very prominent among them. It is probable that the occurrence of this type of design among the Salishan is due to direct contact with Shoshoneans, principally of Idaho. It is interesting to observe that the wide border-stripe consisting of triangles with squares at the ends, which is so typical of the Shoshone, is found among the Salishan as frequently in the form of a transverse end-stripe as it is as a longitudinal border. Central squares of no great size occur several times in combination with adjacent acute isosceles triangles. Wide stripes, sometimes longitudinal and sometimes transverse, are not uncommon. When longitudinal, they occur also in the middle of the decorative field. In this case the two resulting halves of the decorative area are usually occupied mainly by diamonds or hourglass figures. There is very little tendency toward a distinct enclosing frame, as among the Sioux and Blackfeet. There are also very few cases of a repetition, along the longitudinal borders, of the designs in the middle, such as is so characteristic of the Arapaho; but there are cases even of this. Altogether there is hardly any characteristic tribal type which has not some representation among the Salishan. The figures are generally large. They are, however, so placed that the white background is comparatively prominent; and the close effect found, for instance, in most Bannock parfleches, where large design elements are also favorites, is wanting. The outlines of the figures are usually marked quite heavily in black or dark blue, much as among the Shoshone and Bannock. About half the parfleches have paintings on the side, similar to those of the Blackfeet and

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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Kootenay. The typical form of these side-paintings seems to be a row of angles or V's with the apices directed upward; that is to say, more or less inward as the flattened parfleche is viewed from above. Usually each angle or V contains one or two smaller parallel ones. In a few cases among the Sahaptin, the V-shaped angles are replaced by square .U-shaped figures or by diagonal stripes.

The characteristics of Gros Ventre rawhide painting, in spite of some fifteen pieces in the Museum, are difficult to define. There is certainly very little stylistic tendency peculiar to the tribe. A considerable proportion both of parfleches and bags resembles typical Arapaho ones, though on the whole with the difference that there is a less marked longitudinal arrangement of figures, and not quite so much openness of the decorative field. On the other hand, there is visible some tendency toward the use of the Shoshone square-and-triangular type of design, though with an inclination rather toward a central square with acute triangles directed toward it, such as is found among the Ute and Blackfeet, than toward the heavy diamond-filled central square and the square-and-triangular stripe of the Shoshone.

Of specimens which have more or less close Arapaho analogues, there may be mentioned Fig. 5 of Plate XI[1] and specimens Museum Nos. 50–1734,[2] 50–1929 and 50–1776,[3] and 50–1830.[4] A specimen (Museum No. 50–4327) collected by Dr. Clark Wissler may be described as approximately the equivalent of double that part of an Arapaho design which appears on the front of the bag.[5]

Several forms that are quite distinct from anything found among the Arapaho are illustrated in Plate XI. The design shown in Fig. 1 consists in essence of four squares, each containing two inturned obtuse triangles, and is without close parallel among any of the tribes from which there is material. Fig. 2 suggests the entirely-painted-over Sioux decorative field divided longitudinally by a wide stripe which is flanked by two long diamonds. It will be seen, however, that transverse divisions give a marked square effect to this pattern as a whole. Fig. 3 is a parfleche collected by Dr. Clark Wissler. It is in typical Shoshone style, showing the square-ended wide stripes and the general square effect of the central portion of the decorative field. Fig. 4 was also collected by Dr. Wissler, and is in many respects unique. Figs. 5 and 6 are two designs of the square-and-triangular type, but rather of the form used by the Ute than that typical of

[1] Compare Bulletin American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate XXII, Fig. 2.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate XX, Fig. 5.
[3] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate XVIII, Figs. 3 and 4.
[4] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Fig. 36.
[5] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Fig. 33.

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the Shoshone. Specimen Museum No. 50-1741 (not shown in the plate) is similar to Fig. 6, but contains two central figures instead of one, and lacks the symmetrical half-designs along the edges. 531 171

A curious design on a bag is shown in Fig. 11. This, while much specialized, seems to show Blackfoot influence.

While these Gros Ventre pieces show resemblances here and there to the work of a number of tribes, yet they seem distinctly impressed with the tendencies of none. Perhaps fundamentally Gros Ventre rawhide painting is most similar to that of the Arapaho; but there are many departures from the Arapaho type, without corresponding development of any characteristically tribal style. There are some approaches to the art of both the Sioux and the Blackfeet, the two principal large tribes to the east and west; but these resemblances are not very marked. It is not unlikely that there may have been closer correspondences with the Crow. While the Blackfeet, according to Dr. Clark Wissler,[1] called their regular parfleche paintings "Gros Ventre painting," it is quite evident that the influence suggested by this name has actually had very little to do with the origin and development of the present style of Blackfoot painting. Not only do the Blackfeet appear to be in possession of a more distinctive style of rawhide painting than the Gros Ventre, but it is generally evident that any inter-influence of the two tribes on each other in respect to rawhide ornamentation has been inconsiderable.

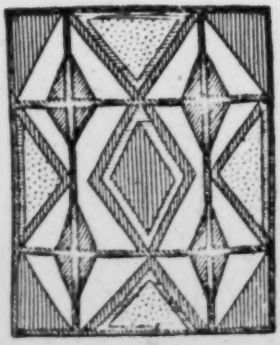

Fig. 11 (50-1805). Design on Bag. Length, 29 cm.

The cylindrical rawhide cases used by most Plains tribes, generally for holding medicine, are painted, on the whole, in styles resembling those of parfleches; but as the shape of the object and the portion of the decorative field visible at one time are quite different from those of parfleches, there are certain differences of design. At least four types of designs can be made out on medicine-cases; and, as more material becomes available for study, the tribal distribution of these, and especially the transition forms between the pure types, promise to be interesting. [415]

These four types, which have already been partly described in connection with the Arapaho,[2] are shown in Fig. 12 (*a*–*d*), and may be characterized as

[1] Clark Wissler, Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 276.
[2] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 132.

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follows. The first type (*a*) consists of a pattern of inverted tents.[1] The second type (*b*) consists of a pattern of stemmed crescents and forked upright fishtail figures.[2] The third type (*c*) has for its principal or central design a single figure, one of the characteristic elements of the pure triangular type

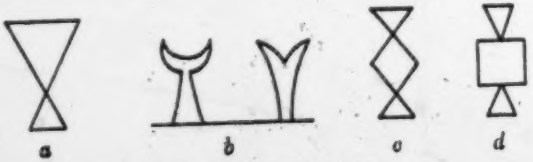

Fig. 12. Designs on Cylindrical Medicine-cases.

of parfleche designs,—a rhombus between two triangles directed toward it. As in parfleches, this figure may be flanked by symmetrical half-figures.[3] The fourth type (*d*) is similar, but substitutes in its principal figure the square-and-triangular type for the purely triangular one. The two Ute medicine-cases shown in Fig. 13 are illustrations.

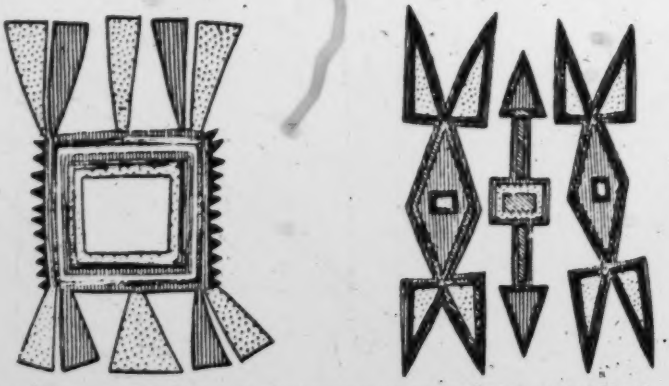

Fig. 13 (50-1255, 50-1276). Ute Medicine-case Designs. Lengths, 40 cm., 71 cm.

Among the Arapaho the tent-pattern seems most common, and next to this the crescent-and-fishtail design. One case of the third type has been found, and none of the fourth. The interesting specimen painted with bear-feet, in the Field Columbian Museum, may also be recalled.

Of Sioux medicine-cases little is known. A specimen in the Museum

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate xxv, Fig. 1.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate xxv, Figs. 2 and 3.
[3] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Fig. 43.

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has a design the most prominent figure in which is the spider-web symbol,[1] a concave quadrilateral. Superficially this design resembles those of the fourth type. A specimen in the Museum of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California shows an asymmetrical design, which in some respects approaches each of the four fundamental types here distinguished.

The Ute, to judge from four or five examples in the American Museum of Natural History, employ chiefly the third and fourth types; but their designs of the third or triangular type are almost always tinged with elements of the fourth, or square-and-triangular type.

The Shoshone cases, also represented by several examples, show some variation of pattern; but all are of the triangular type, and generally approach the design illustrated as most elemental. While in parfleches the Shoshone incline more than the Ute to square-and-triangular patterns, they appear to favor them less than the Ute on medicine-cases.

The Blackfoot tribes, also represented in the Museum by several specimens, show the third type, with but little variation from the illustration, quite regularly.

A single Sahaptin case in the Museum is also of this third type.

The only Gros Ventre case obtained is shown in Fig. 27, and the design is of the third type.

A Kiowa case in the Field Columbian Museum, the only specimen from this tribe known to the writer, and previously commented upon,[2] is intermediate between the first and second types.

The Arapaho being the southernmost of the tribes represented, it seems, especially in connection with this Kiowa case, that the first two types of medicine-case designs, the tent and the crescent-and-fishtail patterns, are probably characteristic of the southern Plains. Among the northern, or at least the northwestern, tribes belonging to the Plains culture, designs of the third and fourth types, more closely related to parfleche figures than are the first and second, are clearly prevalent. These are normally of the third or purely triangular form; but among the Ute a special form of the square-and-triangular type of design, found also on the parfleches of this tribe, has strongly influenced the medicine-case designs. Among the Shoshone the fundamentally square-and-triangular tendency of their parfleche-painting is without appreciable effect on their medicine-case style. The position of the Sioux in this classification, although geographically they belong to the northern tribes, remains to be more exactly determined.

[1] Compare Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 248.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 134.

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the Arapaho type shown in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, p. 397, Fig. 154). In place of the needle, grease-wood or bone was formerly used. The bones usually had small holes bored through their sides, but these, if caught on the needle, scored only one point. The bones were usually swung with the needle pointing away from the body, in such a manner, that, when they were horizontal, a sudden motion backward of the needle drew them over its point. An expert player usually caught all, or at least several, of the bones at each throw. There were usually small loops of beads at the end of the string. Each of these, when caught on the needle, scored as much as had been agreed upon. The four bones also counted variously. In one set they are marked respectively 2, 3, 4, and 5 in parallel notches; but the owner of the game was in the habit of counting them as 6, 7, 8, and 9, the one with the highest value being farthest from the needle. It seems that other values — such as 10, 20, 30, and 40 — were sometimes given the four bones, if the players wished to play rapidly. It is said by some that, whereas a single bone or loop when caught counted as many points as had been agreed upon, if two or three bones or loops were caught, they counted only two or three points instead of the sum of the scores that each was worth individually. A considerable number of sticks were used for counters, a hundred or more according as there were two or more players. As is customary in Indian games, the counters were not divided between the players to begin with, but were in a neutral pile, from which the players took as many as their score entitled them to, until the heap was divided between them. Only after this did they begin to win from each other. Usually a man swung until he had missed three times, when his opponent was handed the game. When there were four players, they formed two sides. It is said that when the original heap of counters is exhausted, the player who is then throwing must hand over the bones to his opponent, even without having missed. The game's stakes, of course, are won when one player or one side has all the counters.

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[525]

The dice of the Gros Ventre differ from those of the Arapaho. The latter have both small flat dice and long stick dice. The former may have a small form of the game; but long dice are certainly the prevailing type, as all sets seen were of this kind. The Gros Ventre dice are much flatter than the Arapaho stick dice, though of about equal length, and sometimes are made of bone. Thus they form in themselves something of a transition between the two types of Arapaho dice. The Arapaho long dice are essentially split sticks. One side is convex. The flat side may have the pith removed. The Gros Ventre dice are small boards, or similarly proportioned pieces of bone, rounded or pointed at the ends, and ornamented on one side with carving. The Arapaho use two sets of four sticks; the Gros Ventre,

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525 four in all, in two pairs. The Gros Ventre dice are marked with incised
171 lines on one side only. The Arapaho burn marks on the back or convex side in order to distinguish the two sets of dice they use together. The usual Gros Ventre markings consist of diagonal crosses and zigzag lines.
525 A single die is usually specially marked in the middle. By this means the scoring or the playing is elaborated. The number of counters among the
531 Gros Ventre is twelve. Sticks are used for this purpose. The methods

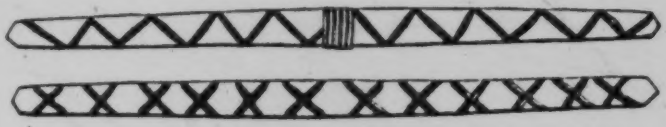

Fig. 14 (50-1768 a, b). Dice. Length, 24 cm.

of counting points are given somewhat differently by various individuals. For this reason the explanations obtained with each set of dice are here presented.

The set of dice one of each of whose pairs is shown in Fig. 14 has one die marked with a bit of string. There are twelve counters. The three unmarked sticks were thrown first. If they fell alike, the other one was thrown separately; but, if one of the first three fell differently from the other two, the marked stick was thrown at it in the hope of turning it over, so that all four sticks might rest alike. If this were the case, whether they were all face up or face down, four points were scored. If two were face up and two face down, two points were scored. If three faced one way and a single one was opposite, nothing was scored.

Fig. 15 (50-1812 b, d). Dice. Lengths, 20 cm., 20½ cm.

The set of dice of which the two kinds are shown in Fig. 15 is also accompanied by twelve counters. One of the sticks in this set is also marked by being tied around. This set was used somewhat differently, the four sticks being thrown together. If the marked stick fell one way, and the remainder opposite, six points were scored. If all four sticks fell alike, four were scored. If two sticks fell face up and two face down, two were scored; but three sticks one way and one the other, unless this single one happened to be the marked one, counted nothing.

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524 531 A form of the widely spread guessing-game occurred among the Gros Ventre. Two buttons, which were enclosed in the hand, were used. At the beginning each player held one button. One of them guessed in which hand the other held the button. If he guessed wrong, his opponent got four counters; but if he guessed right, his opponent must yield the button to him. When he held two, his opponent guessed in which hand each of them was. If his opponent guessed wrong, the player received two counters; but if his opponent was right, the player must hand over both buttons, and himself guess. The game was played for twelve stick counters. These at the beginning were in a pile belonging to neither of the players. This neutral pile was drawn upon until exhausted, before either player gave counters to the other. This method of using counters was customary in Arapaho and Gros Ventre games.

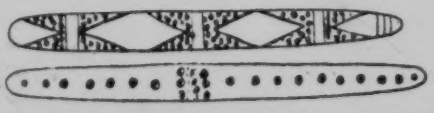

Fig. 18 (50-4325, 50-4325 a). Dice. Lengths, 15 cm., 16 cm.

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The buttons used in this game are different from those the Arapaho have had in recent years. They lack symbolism altogether, and are even without the red-black color-dualism obvious in the Arapaho game. The elaborate counters, food-sticks, pointers, and head-dresses of the Arapaho are also not found among the Gros Ventre. Of one pair of buttons, one was of brass beads, the other of green glass beads. They were called respectively "long" and "short." Another pair, made of bone, are illustrated in Fig. 19. A single button made of bone, apparently from a tooth-brush-handle, is shown in Fig. 20.

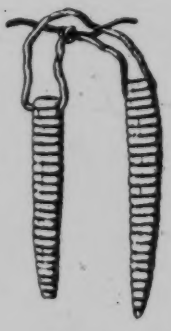

Fig. 19.

Fig. 19 (50-1931 a, b). Hiding-buttons. Length, 7 cm.

Fig. 20.

Fig. 20 (50-1917). Hiding-button. Length, 6 cm.

526 857 Boys shot arrows or threw sticks at a netted hoop, apparently identical with the Arapaho hoop except for nomenclature. The central mesh, called the "crow" or "crow's heart," won the game for whoever hit it. If the "crow's heart" was not pierced, a point was scored by the arrow nearest to it. An arrow passing through the netting without being held in it counted nothing. If one of the hoops rolled within reach, a player was at liberty to

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ever, could find none to stand on, and this was what gave rise to the excitement and amusement. 526

Girls sometimes kicked a football upward, as if juggling with it. Such a football was kicked with the instep, either while free or while held by a string. Fig. 23 shows such a football about six inches in diameter. It is said to be made of the skin of an unborn buffalo-calf, and to be stuffed with fur. It is covered with an unknotted network of sinew strands.

The ordinary balls are much smaller than this one, and lack the sinew network. They are made of soft-dressed skin, and painted. In construction and appearance they are not to be distinguished from Arapaho ghost-dance balls, except that none have yet been seen with a plume on the attached thong, as is customary with the Arapaho. One, approaching the last in size, was said to have been struck with a stick, and is therefore probably a shinny-ball. It lacks a thong. The others are smaller, usually with a double thong, and are said to be stuffed with hair. [171] [531]

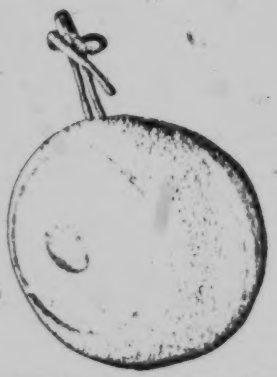

Fig. 24 (50-1981). Ghost-dance Ball. Diameter, 9 cm.

Specimen Museum No. 50-1729 is the thongless ball mentioned as used with a stick. It is painted red. One side has been lightly gone over with a dark paint, blue or black. In the middle of the red side is a small dark cross.

Specimen Museum No. 50-1728 is painted yellow. Along the seam where the two hemispheres are joined, it is red. On one side a hand is outlined in green; on the other side, in red. An Arapaho ball described[1] had a smaller hand painted on it, because, it is said, the hand threw the ball.

The ball one side of which is shown in Fig. 24 was said to have been made in connection with the ghost-dance. One side is primarily dark blue or green; the other, yellow. Each side has on it a central spot and a ring of the opposite color. The symbolism of this painting is not quite consistent, but recalls that of the Arapaho. On the dark side three concentric circles were distinguished, representing three successive existences of the world; the fourth was still to come. On the yellow side the central spot represented the entrance to the sky. It thus seems that the two sides of the ball represent heaven and earth, the future life and this.

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part IV, Fig. 150.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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each of which has a ceremony of its own rivalling that of the other (respectively the war-dance and the star-dance), compete in a horse-race, with the agreement that the beaten party is to put up the crazy-lodge. It does not seem that this is a common procedure.

The Gros Ventre abandoned their dances much earlier than the Arapaho, and almost nothing of the organization remains now, except a memory. It is somewhat difficult to procure precise details of the procedure, especially in the older dances. In great part, the regalia used have also perished, and it has been possible to secure only a very few pieces. These show, as do the descriptions given by the Indians, that the objects and decorations used are quite similar to those of the Arapaho. The distinction of several degrees purely of honor within each ceremony, which is so characteristic of the Arapaho age-dances, is also found in the Gros Ventre, though it seems that the distinctions made and the number of degrees are not quite so elaborate. This is evidenced, not only by the fact that few degrees are described by the Gros Ventre, a fact which might be due to their longer disuse of the ceremonies, but also by circumstances such as the one that certain regalia, which in the Arapaho dog-dance are worn only by the members of the second and third highest degrees, are among the Gros Ventre the common regalia of all participants; only the highest degree of the Arapaho being retained by the Gros Ventre as distinct.

The Gros Ventre call their entire ceremonial organizations benaa"wu, a dialectic form of the Arapaho hayaa"wu, and, like it, probably meaning "all the lodges." The members of the age-societies are called beniinen, commonly translated at the present day as "soldiers," etymologically probably "all-men," or "all-(?)-men."

The ceremonies of the Gros Ventre benaa"wu, with the age-dances given in order from youth to old age, are the following: —

Açeiha"w"	Sacrifice-lodge,[1] sun-dance
	Star-dance, partial preliminary
Nõuhã"w"	Fly-lodge, first dance
Haha"tyã"w"	Crazy-lodge, second dance
Nõnhã"w"	Kit-fox lodge, third dance
Hotibyã"w"	Dog-lodge, fourth dance
Nanã"nahã"w"	Tomahawk-lodge, fifth dance
Blitahã"wu"	Drum (?) lodge, sixth (?) dance
Benuxtcã"w"	Buffalo(?) dance, women's dance.

The members of these successive age-ceremonies are called respectively

[1] Once translated "looked-at-lodge."

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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hotohuûu, nõubän, hahā^{n}tyänen, nõuhunen, hotibyt, nanā^{n}nähä^{n}ts or perhaps hiityaña^{n}sûts, biitaxäänen; or "stars," "flies," "crazy-men," "kit-fox men," "dogs," "soldiers" or "having-war-spikes," and "drum (?) men."

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Aside from changes in the order of the ceremonies, of which there are several, the chief known differences between this progressive dance-series of the Gros Ventre and that of the Arapaho are two. One of these differences is, that the first dance of the Gros Ventre is the fly-dance, which the Arapaho lack altogether. The second difference is, that the fifth dance of the Gros Ventre, the nana^{n}naha^{n}w^{u}, seems to combine the characteristics of the corresponding Arapaho dance (the hinanaha^{n}wu or fifth) and of the first dance (the Arapaho hiitcenoxa^{n}wu). In its name, its place in the series, and the age of its dancers, the Gros Ventre fifth ceremony agrees with the similarly named Arapaho fifth ceremony; but in the use of war-club-like implements carried by the dancers, and in the symbolic connection of the dance with the buffalo, there is an agreement with the Arapaho first dance. This first dance of the Arapaho is not represented by a separate ceremony among the Gros Ventre. A third possible difference between the two systems is, that no information was obtained regarding any Gros Ventre lodge corresponding to the oldest men's sweat-house among the Arapaho; but it is not unlikely that something similar formerly existed.

The several changes in order of the dances between the two tribes imply something more than mere change of position in the series. For instance, the displacing of the kit-fox lodge and of the biitaha^{n}wu, both of which are early ceremonies in the Arapaho and late ones among the Gros Ventre, involves a change of the age of the participants, and therefore necessarily, in some degree, of the character of the ceremony itself, since, the greater the age of the participants in the ceremony, the more sacred it is.

The following comparison shows the respective places of each ceremony in the Arapaho and Gros Ventre ceremonial series.

Ceremony.	Arapaho.	Gros Ventre.
Sun-dance	Men of any age	Men of any age
Kit-fox lodge	First preliminary	Third dance
Star-dance	Second preliminary	Outside of regular series
Fly-lodge	Lacking	First dance
Hiitcenoxa^{n}wu	First dance	Lacking (see Hinanaha^{n}wu)
Biitaha^{n}wu	Second dance	Probably sixth dance
Crazy-lodge	Third dance	Second dance
Dog-lodge	Fourth dance	Fourth dance
Hinanaha^{n}wu	Fifth dance	Fifth dance
Seven old men	Sixth ceremony	Lacking?
Bänûxta^{n}wu	Women's dance	Women's dance

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The place of the biitaha"wu is not certain, as no informants were found who would positively express themselves on this matter. It is universally regarded as having been the most sacred and most dangerous of all the ceremonies, these qualities being thought to have led to its abandonment before any of the other dances. It can probably be concluded from this that it was last in the series, and performed by the oldest men.

As among the Arapaho, but somewhat more clearly, each dance refers symbolically to a certain animal. This symbolism is as follows.

The fly-dance takes its name from flies or mosquitoes, and was given or instituted by a mosquito. During part of the ceremony the dancers imitate the actions of mosquitoes.

The crazy-dance has comparatively little reference to any animal. The participants, however, wear anklets of badger-skin, and an entire badger-skin is used in ceremonies at the time of starting the dancing.

The kit-fox lodge was given by the kit-foxes, and a kit-fox skin is used somewhat analogously to the badger-skin in the crazy-dance.

In the dog-dance the dancers of highest degree represent shaggy dogs. It is also said that the participants in the ceremony largely eat dogs during its course. Among the Arapaho a dog is said to have instituted this lodge, and the Gros Ventre have a similar myth.

In the naina"naha"w" the dancers sing for the buffalo, and it is said that they always succeed in causing them to appear near the camp. Among the Arapaho the dancers represent both buffalo and prairie-chickens. The symbolic reference to prairie-chickens among the Gros Ventre is found in their sun-dance; their equivalent of the Arapaho rabbit-tent in this ceremony being called "prairie-chicken tent," and the singers in it "prairie-chickens" and "prairie-hens."

The biitaha"w", as among the Arapaho, has connection with thunder. The dancers are painted over the body with dots which represent hail. If one of them violates the regulations of the dance, it is thought that it will begin to rain and that the offender may be struck by lightning. The Gros Ventre have an additional symbolic connection of their sun-dance with thunder, which is not strictly paralleled among the Arapaho.

The women in their dance among both tribes represent buffalo, and the actions gone through in this ceremony are in both tribes probably more directly imitative of the animals symbolized than in any of the men's ceremonies.

What has been said about the Arapaho in regard to the relation of the entire ceremonial organization to the lives of the men of the tribe, and in regard to the relative importance of the religious, military, and social functions of the age-companies constituting the organization, appears to apply

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171 796 561 equally to the Gros Ventre. The Gros Ventre, however, used a method of organization as regards the performance of the age-ceremonies of which nothing was heard among the Arapaho. The men of the tribe of age to make any one ceremony were not all in one society or company, but in several; the total number of the companies being three or four times as great as the number of ceremonies. Each of these companies had a name, which it retained throughout its existence, irrespective of the dance it had last performed; and each held its ceremonies without participating in those of any other company. It seems that, when one of these companies had made all the dances, the surviving old men grouped together the available young men in the tribe, and formed them into a new company of the same name. With this organization it was possible for each ceremony to be performed in the tribe much more frequently than if all those of an age and previous ceremonial experience entitling them to make a certain dance had performed this together, as appears to have been the case among the Arapaho; or the ceremony could be given at short intervals without involving the repetition of it for a considerable number of times by the same body of men. The Gros Ventre companies could and did repeat the ceremonies, especially the earlier ones, but do not seem to have done so more than once or twice.

561 796 The names of these companies resembled nicknames, and for the most part had a character not very different from the clan names in use among the Gros Ventre and other Plains tribes, in which a certain humorous or derisive element prevails. The following are the companies whose names were obtained:

Green-grass, wanoçetyi
Young-sheep, wnotei
Small-horses, tsuãn'çibyi
Rosebushes, yaaniisi'
Calves (of leg), itsiitsãn
Sleeping-on-the-breast-of-a-woman, bitenanan'katuãn'bei
Grass-in-their-pockets, wasoontinãyhuts
Big-bellies, tjiitã'ts
White-horns, nanã'tsi'nitã'ts
White-backs, nanã'ts'etũ'ts
Men-across-the-river, ha'sõitjãnen
Different-from-beniinen, kan'sõbeniinen
Ugly-dogs, wasan'tibyi
Seed-necklaces, hity'iisõtya'
Having-back-fat, hiinanihits
White-noses, nanan'tsõõbi'ts
Eat-enough-to-last-over-night, ãteinutã'ts
Holding-dogs'-tails, hotibyi nan'ãnan'nã'ts
White-blankets, nanan'tsõubãnts
Fur-wrapped-wands, hiibliçõuts
Bad-horns, wanan'sõnitã'ts
(? Stars, hotohuũu)
(? Feathered-sword-wands, likokõuuts)
(? Having-spikes, hiitjaãn'sũts)

The list is probably not complete, as, with the disuse of the ceremonies, the formation of these companies has been discontinued for some time.

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159 561 796 Subsequently he was a "grandfather" in the crazy-dance, but in none of the other ceremonies. He never participated in the sun-dance, having had no occasion to do so, he said. Nevertheless he once was the man selected during the sun-dance to kill a buffalo with one arrow, the buffalo's skin being cut up into thongs with which the rafters of the lodge are fastened. He succeeded in killing the buffalo with one arrow.

Another man, now middle-aged, belonged to the "holding-to-a-dog's-tail" company. He made successively the fly-dance, the star-dance, and then the crazy-dance.

Star and War Dances.

171 561 796 575 [177] At present the organization into comparatively small companies is no longer maintained. In its place there is a division of the young men of the tribe into two groups, one of which practises, or did until recently, the star-dance; the other, the grass or war dance. The latter is universally stated to be a recent importation from the Sioux, apparently within the present generation. The star-dance, however, is an old ceremony, it is claimed; and this assertion is borne out by the occurrence among the Arapaho of the analogous star-dance. Among the Arapaho the star-dance, like the kit-fox dance, is a preliminary which appears to be gone through by all the men of the tribe, but has neither the standing, the organization, nor the definite observances and regalia of the subsequent ceremonies. Among the Gros Ventre the star-dance was formerly also outside the regular series of dances. It is generally spoken of as having been a warrior dance, made at any time and on any suitable occasion, and without the rigorously prescribed course of other dances. Some men seem to have made it before the fly-dance, and others afterward. Even in former times, however, before the war-dance had come among the Gros Ventre, the star-dance included only part of the young men of the tribe. The old men surviving from certain companies have never taken part in the star-dance, and explain this by the fact that there was rivalry between their company and the star-dancers. It might thus, perhaps, seem that a star company had a ceremony of its own, the star-dance, from which the members of rival companies naturally held aloof; but it is very improbable that only one age-company parallel to the others, and none of these others, should have had a distinctive ceremony. It is also improbable that this company, being one of many, should have been so large as to include about half of the men of the tribe, for it appears that some such large proportion took part in the star-dance. This makes it almost impossible to believe that there existed a star company exactly

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analogous to the "green-grass" and "young-sheep" and other companies, but having an additional ceremony confined to itself. On the other hand, if the "stars" were not one of the age-companies, it is hard to see with what groups of men they competed. It is therefore not improbable that there formerly existed among the Gros Ventre a star-society, which had a ceremony of its own, and which, while based partly on age in being constituted of young men, was outside and independent of the scheme of the beniaⁿwu, with which it had no, or only indirect, relation, and with whose working out it must in some measure have conflicted. Such a society, which would be a true society in being based on a membership determined by choice, purchase, initiation, or supernatural experience, — in other words, by selection, would be of a type of organization quite distinct from the ordinary Gros Ventre or Arapaho age-company performing in the course of its existence an entire series of tribal ceremonies, but would have abundant parallels in other ceremonial societies on the Plains and elsewhere. Its presence would therefore be readily explainable as an incipient intrusion due to the cultural influence of some other tribe, the chief objection to such an explanation being the occurrence of the star-dance also among the Arapaho, but without a known association with a special society. This suggested character of the Gros Ventre star-society and star-dance fits the facts, but is after all only hypothetical; and altogether the relation of the ceremony to the remainder of the Gros Ventre ceremonial organizations is not yet clear.

The star-dance as formerly held is said to have lasted four days and nights. There might be further subsequent dancing. At the beginning of the ceremony, the dancers went to four places at the camp-circle facing or representing the four cardinal directions, and at each place danced before the tent of a prominent man. The owner of the tent gave away property and filled a pipe for the dancers, after smoking which they proceeded to the next one. After having danced in the four places, they danced in the middle of the camp-circle. This might be in the open air, or in a lodge made of two large tents combined. The singers were four old men, who accompanied themselves on small hand drums. The dancers' wives sat behind these four old men and sang with them. The dancer's relatives at times went to them and danced with them, taking their rattles and temporarily using them. The dancers' bodies seem to have been variously decorated; but they had no distinctive regalia except rattles. These were alike in general character, being loop-shaped, and decorated with gaudy paint and attachments, but there seems to have been no attempt at making them uniform. The dancing-lodge was elliptical, with the door towards the east and a fire near the western end. The singers were at this end, and the dancers near them, in two lines, along the sides of the lodge, facing each other. In dancing

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796 successful and happy in this world, in acquiring wealth and in living a long life. Then the old man pointed the pipe east, south, west, north, and up, lit it, and smoked it. Then wiping it, and dropping the ashes out of it, he held the pipe up toward the sky, and prayed for his "grand-daughter," then laid it on the ground. The woman was naked, except for her robe. She then begged the old man to give her the medicine called tawaanas60 (the Arapaho hăeawaanaxu). It is said that sometimes the old man gave her none, but undoubtedly it was customary for him to give it to her. Only a small piece was used.

After this the women returned to the dancing-lodge, where their husbands were waiting for them. They did not go together, but singly. A boy or young man had been selected to stand outside the door, and watch for the women returning. As a woman came near enough to be recognized, he called into the lodge that she was coming, whereupon the dancers came out. Her husband and all the others kissed her. Her husband [576] kissed the "grandfather" also. One by one the other women came back, and were received in the same way. If the woman had received medicine, she gave half to her husband. He chewed it up, and then rubbed himself over his body with it.

For four nights this appears to have been done. On all but the last night, it is said, that, on the return of the women, they and their husbands left the lodge and returned to their tents to sleep, to be painted again next morning. The last night, after the women and their "grandfathers" had returned, the old men picked out from the row of bows their "grandsons'," and, standing north and south of the fire, danced, holding the bows; their "grandsons" meanwhile dancing with them, but the women sitting in their places.

These observances connected with the giving of medicine by the "grandfathers" to the dancers' wives are found, without essential modification, in the three following dances, as well as in this. It will be seen that they are considerably more developed than the corresponding practices among the Arapaho.[1]

[1] In the Arapaho crazy and dog dances the procedure is not carried quite so far. Dorsey has described almost the same practice as occurring in the Arapaho sun-dance. What takes place on this occasion in the Arapaho crazy and dog dances has been summarized in Vol. XVIII, pp. 193, 200, of the Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History. The following somewhat more precise account is appended for comparison with the Gros Ventre. The "grandfather" and the dancer's wife (who is naked, except, presumably, for a robe) go off. As or before they go it is said aloud, "He gives his wife away." She is given, theoretically, not to her husband's ceremonial "grandfather," but to "the four old men" that play a part in esoteric Arapaho ritual. The woman prays, asking the old man for life. He spits medicine on the ground four times, once for each of the four old men. She lies down before him, stretching her legs and arms, facing him. He asks "the grandfather above" — apparently "our father" — to look, and puts away his desire. Restraining himself, he covers her with a robe, draws her up, and leads her back, pushing her gently before him. When she rejoins her husband, the latter says, "Hahô'u" ("thanks") four times. That this custom of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre is not confined to them, is evident from a well-known passage in Lewis and Clark.

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hand, according as they belonged to one division or the other. Vessels of water were ready to pour on the racers in order to cool them. The four "brothers," the dancers previously separate from the rest at the eastern end of the lodge, did not run with the crowd, but started out slowly together, their faces covered with their robes. They trotted at a slow pace over the same course as the other dancers. As they returned, long after the crowd, the boys, young men, and young women of the camp, had gathered on both sides, and pelted them with buffalo-chips until they reached the dancing-lodge. There is, in this slow following of the pledger and his three companions, a reminiscence of the white-fool, the dancer of highest degree in the Arapaho crazy-lodge, who on all occasions contrasts by his slow movements with the other dancers.[1] After the return of all the dancers, they presented horses loaded with property to their "grandfathers," and these made similar presents to them. These gifts seem to have been payments to the old men for their instruction and painting, and to have been made at the conclusion of the part of the ceremony which was under their control. From this time on, the dancers' wives returned to their tents, and took no further part in the ceremony.

After this followed two observances. It is not certain which of the two came first. A crowd of people were waiting for the dancers in the open. The dancers, wearing their best moccasins put on loosely without being tied, left the lodge; and the waiting people, mostly women and children, ran after them, pulling off their moccasins, and, when they could not succeed in doing so otherwise, seizing their feet, and tripping them as they went. The dancers did not try to escape, or save their moccasins, but allowed them to be taken. Or, again, an old man who was poor was selected, and, having been given a pipe to smoke in order that he might accept, he went to the east of the camp-circle. A buffalo robe was brought, incensed four times with sweet-grass placed on burning charcoal or buffalo-chips, and then placed over the old man, with the hair side out, as, bent over, he knelt on the ground. The dancers gathered about him, and

[1] According to an Arapaho account obtained, somewhat different from those previously utilized, there are two white-fools, not one. It is not clear which information is more correct. The white-fools always follow the dancers. If one of the ordinary dancers should be behind them, he would become unable to move. This is the result of any violation of a rule of the ceremony by a participant. In such cases the white-fools have the power to cure them by taking off their owl-feather head-bands, and rubbing them over the body with them. The white-fools are addressed as heicâbihin ("sisters-in-law," strictly, "brother or sister-in-law" of opposite sex from the speaker). The dancers, to look at a person, put their head to the ground, and pretend to look with their rump. They throw dung into tents, calling it "food." If people look at them through awl-holes in a tent, they at once shoot the tent in that place. Going out on the prairie, they say, "Let us not shoot into the air," and shoot up. When the arrows fall in plain sight, they cannot find them: if they fall into brush or tall grass, they find them at once. They imitate, often with obscene renderings, anything that they hear, such as a person's speech, or a dog's bark. They paralyze dogs by pointing at them an arrow to which tetcâatcet is attached. They give the dogs they kill to their "grandfathers" to eat. As soon as they take off their head-bands, they become rational. Mooney's account of the Cheyenne and Arapaho crazy-dance, which seems to refer chiefly to the former, mentions two white-fools; compare Ghost-Dance Religion, op. cit., 1033.

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More regalia of the crazy-dance than of any other ceremony were obtained for the Museum; but not a single set secured is complete. The Arapaho do not keep their crazy-dance bows after the ceremony, so that, under the present much more complete disappearance of Gros Ventre regalia, the preservation of a bow (see Plate XII) is very fortunate, though it lacks string, arrows, the sage for the handle, and the buckskin thong for wrapping the handle. The remaining ornaments of the bow have been re-attached to it. None of the peculiar crazy-dance robes or capes seem to be any longer in existence. Descriptions and drawings by the Indians show

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Fig. 36.

Fig. 37.

Fig. 36 (50-1884 c). Crazy-dance Regalia. Length, 37 cm.
Fig. 37 (50-1884 k). Crazy-dance Regalia. Length, 25 cm.

that they must have been very similar to those of the Arapaho. The Gros Ventre, however, declare theirs to have been painted entirely red; those of the Arapaho are part red and part white. Two pieces of feathered owl-skin

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an enemy; and each took from among the property as nearly as possible such objects as he had actually captured in war. One who had stolen horses would take a horse; one who had taken a gun from an enemy would pick out a gun. While this was being done, or soon after, the dancers were dancing, concluding with a race similar to that in the crazy-dance. This marked the end of the ceremony. 796

There were several degrees of distinction in this dance. Two men had crooked lances wrapped with otter-skin. In four places these lances were tied about with small strips of white fur from which a pair of eagle-feathers hung. These lances were called nouçä"ts'ta". Two other lances were straight, and wrapped with jack-rabbit skin. These also bore feathers. A single dancer had a rattle of the globular shape common on the Plains. Half of the rattle was painted red, and half blue; and feathers were attached both to the top of the rattle and to the bottom of its handle. These regalia of honor were given to men renowned in war. A pipe was brought such a man, and if he thought himself entitled to the honor, and was ready to accept it, he took the pipe. If a man felt that others were really braver than himself, or had some other reason, he refused to take the pipe. One informant stated that he had declined the proffered honor because his wife's brother had recently died. The rank and file of the kit-fox dancers are said to have worn belts of prairie-dog skin. How far these corresponded with the biitaha"wu belts of the Arapaho is uncertain. The fur-wrapped crooked and straight lances are certainly similar to the crooked and straight lances indicating the second and third degrees in the Arapaho-biitaha"wu. 796 554 293 [534]

Two girls took part in this ceremony. They were girls who were much thought of and beloved by their relatives. One of the dancers carried a kit-fox skin, the inside of which was painted blue. His companion had the rattle that has been described. While he rattled, the other, holding the skin by the neck and the tail, pointed it at the other dancers. These ran off, and this seems to have been the signal for the beginning of the dance. The two girls followed these two men everywhere. Their parents and relatives gave away great quantities of property in the dancing-lodge. Something similar is found in one of the Cheyenne society-dances, in which four young women accompanied the dancers from place to place. 796 857 593 [171]

Nothing was learned about the origin of the kit-fox dance, except that it is said to have been given by the kit-foxes, which is like what the Cheyenne tell of their analogous society. 796

A neck-band of badger-skin is the only object secured said to have been used in the kit-fox dance. To the end of it a tip of whitish rabbit-fur is attached. The lower part of the piece, which bears this rabbit-fur, hangs down the dancer's back. The upper portion, which is about four inches wide, is slit for a distance of a foot. Through this slit the head is inserted. [292]

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but none are living who have taken part in it. The meaning of the term, as among the Arapaho, is unknown. One informant gave the etymology "drum-dance" (from biitaxäänaⁿ, "drum"). The dancers were called biitaxäänen. As in the preceding ceremonies, a man took part in this dance accompanied by his wife, or, if it happened to be held while he was at war, his wife took part as if he were present. Nothing is known as to the conduct of the ceremony nor as to the regalia, except that the dancers, or certain of them, carried crooked sticks wrapped with white fur. The dancers were painted over their body with dots resembling hail. The dance is looked upon as having been very dangerous, as a mistake in painting or in other observances would result in death from the thunder.

It is not impossible, that, if the present Arapaho series of dances represents a more original order of arrangement than the Gros Ventre, in the development of the Gros Ventre series the biitahaⁿwᵘ was displaced by the kit-fox dance, which grew in importance from a dance of the youngest men to one of older men. This would account for the use of crooked fur-wrapped sticks in the Gros Ventre kit-fox dance as well as in their biitahaⁿwᵘ. If this was the course of events, it does not follow that the biitahaⁿwᵘ became the sixth dance of the series. It may simply have been displaced, and fallen into disuse. Lack of knowledge of the proper conduct of the ceremony would be sufficient to make the Indians afraid to undertake it. It has been stated that no informants could be found who professed to know the place of this dance in the series, and it is possible that its dangerous qualities were not due to its greater sacredness through being the dance of the oldest men, but to such lack of knowledge. On the whole it is very difficult to see how such differentiations in the order of dances as exist in the Arapaho and Gros Ventre schemes of ceremonial organization may have taken place.

The Women's Dance.

The women's dance — called benuxteaⁿwᵘ, the dancers being named benuxteiiᵉᵉᵉ[1] — resembles the Arapaho women's dance quite closely. The dancers had on their ordinary clothing, but wore belts to which four buffalo-tails were fastened, and head-dresses which fell down the back of their heads and from which horns rose. These head-dresses are said to have been covered with feathers; but it seems possible that this statement refers only to the dancers of certain degrees, as among the Arapaho only the dancer of highest degree wears such a feather-covered head-dress. Four of the dancers wore no horned head-dress, but "war-bonnets." These may have been equivalent

[1] The Gros Ventre declare that they do not know the significance of the word element benux-te-.

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to the Arapaho "white-stand" and "red-stand" head-dresses of upright feathers surrounding the head. The dancers are described as all old or elderly women, which among the Arapaho was not the case. The exceptions were two participants called "calves" (nihanou, "yellow calves"), who were middle-aged, or, at any rate, adults. Among the Arapaho the "calves" were children. There is a further difference, that, whereas among the Arapaho the "calves" were of high degree in the dance and for the greater part of the time were not allowed to stir, the Gros Ventre "calves" took the place of the atsaan or servants in the men's dances. They are said to have worn no regalia. The dancers were painted with the symbol of a pipe on each cheek, close under the eye. Old men sang for them, rattling but not using a drum. The women in dancing shifted their weight from one side of the body to the other, and cried like crows. Two tent-poles, two pegs, and two ropes belonging to the dancing-lodge, were painted respectively one black and one red. On the fourth day of the ceremony there were observances outside of the dancing-lodge. A prominent chief was selected to take a burning stick. The dancers, moving and running about like a herd of buffalo, pretended to scent the smoke of his fire from windward, and stampeded. Another distinguished warrior pretended to shoot at the herd as if they were buffalo. Both of these features of the ceremony are found among the Arapaho. A third distinguished man (or perhaps several) was honored by being offered a pipe to smoke, and on his acceptance was given a vessel of water containing berries. He then gave away property.

The Sun-Dance.

As stated before, the Gros Ventre sun-dance, haçeiha"w", is not restricted to men belonging to certain age-companies, but, as among the Arapaho, can be made by any man.[1] Like the other dances, however, it is made as the result of the pledge of an individual for deliverance from sickness or danger. As soon as the pledge has been publicly announced, or as soon thereafter as the buffalo begin to get fat in spring, the pledger and his relatives begin to accumulate buffalo-tongues, which they slice and dry like buffalo-meat. They also save a buffalo-skin, which is packed with the tongues, two sticks being wrapped up in it. When the time comes, a large lodge made of two tent-covers is set up in the middle of the camp-circle. Into this many women enter at night to sing. This marks the beginning of the ceremony. The tent is called tjinaa"w" ("prairie-chicken lodge"); and the participants, "prairie-chickens" and "prairie-chicken women." The pledger brings his buffalo-skin to this lodge. He incenses it four times.

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part II, p. 152.

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fork is upright, the young men all compete, trying to raise their rafters into position in the centre fork and in a fork at the periphery, before the others. After the tree has been raised, or possibly before, the young men go out, apparently by age-companies, to cut willows to form the walls of the lodge. More recently the star-dancers and war-dancers have done this, those of each company taking the wives of the men of the other company on their horses behind them. As they go, they shoot up in the air, and when in the timber each man cuts a willow-branch. They return holding the branches and singing, ride around the lodge, and then deposit them. After the outside rafter-poles of the lodge have been tied fast in the forks, these branches are leaned in position, forming an enclosure of the lodge.

The centre fork has a buffalo-tail attached to it. A bundle of brush, called a "nest," is also fastened in the fork. A lightning symbol is made on the western side of the tree down to the ground. Inside the lodge a low screen, said to be about waist high, is erected at the western end, opposite the entrance. Behind this is the pledger of the dance. In front of the screen is a painted buffalo-skull. Two sticks of cherry-wood, one red and one black, stand on each side of the skull. A wheel or ceremonial hoop made of a stick bent in a circle, wrapped with skin, and with feathers attached, is hung on one of these sticks. Just as clothing is hung at the ends of the horizontal rafters of the lodge, or possibly on the centre fork itself, as an offering to the sun, objects are said to be hung on this brush screen at the western end of the lodge.

Apparently the general course of the main portion of the dance, which follows the erection of the lodge, is similar to that of the Arapaho sun-dance, though there are certain features entirely without parallel among the Arapaho. The pledger and the other dancers neither eat nor drink during the ceremony. Women join in the fasting, but do not dance. The dancers stand whistling, and looking up at the "nest" in the tree.

The self-torture characterizing the sun-dance among most tribes is found with the Gros Ventre in its usual form. Four knotted thongs hang from the centre fork. Two sticks are passed under the skin of the dancers' breasts, one on each side, to which the thongs are fastened. The dancers try to tear the sticks out of their skin. Some whose skin is tough do not succeed. In that case a medicine-man comes to them and makes them unconscious of pain, so that they break loose easily. When they have fallen, he restores them to consciousness. One after the other, the dancers go through this ordeal. While the dancers are thus tied to the tree, they move back and forth, apparently dancing. This is called niina^{n}tsôia^{n}. Some dancers also fasten shields in a similar way to the skin of their back, and pull these out. Others are attached by the breast to a post located outside of the dancing-

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aho sun-dance paint. Usually the Arapaho paint only two diamonds on each limb; but four have been seen on the northern Arapaho pledger, as in this picture. Another drawing repeats this painting, and adds a headband, anklets, and wristlets apparently corresponding to the sage ornaments of the Arapaho. In a third drawing a dancer is painted with lightning symbols down his legs and arms. 796 532

The Gros Ventre and Arapaho sun-dances differ about as much as their respective age-company ceremonies. The principal discrepancies seem to be the following. 796 171

The Gros Ventre accumulation of buffalo-tongues by the pledger after the making of the vow and before the ceremony. This feature is found among the Blackfoot, but not among the Arapaho.

The prairie-chicken lodge with its four-nights' singing apparently corresponds somewhat to the Arapaho rabbit-tent; but its daily removal, accompanied by the camp-circle, is not found among the Arapaho. The prairie-chicken singing recalls a feature in the Arapaho hinanaha"wu, the fifth of the age-ceremonies.

According to the account obtained, the public ceremonies relating to the erection of the lodge do not take place until after the four-nights' singing in the prairie-chicken tent. Among the Arapaho, they occur while the rabbit-tent is in use, and are in large part connected with the rites within it. It is also not clear how long a time these public ceremonies — the scouting for the trees, the bringing-in of the centre pole, the killing of the buffalo, and the painting of the lodge-poles and erection of the lodge — occupy. They are described as if they occurred in the space of a day. This would not be impossible; but it is likely that this impression is due to indefiniteness of narration. It is, however, distinctly stated that the buffalo is shot while the people are bringing in the centre pole. Among the Arapaho, the centre pole is brought in two days after the buffalo has been shot. The skin of this buffalo is kept entire and taken into the dancing-lodge; by the Gros Ventre it is cut into thongs for fastening the lodge-beams to the upright forks. [114]

The "altars" of the two ceremonies cannot be definitely compared, owing to the indefiniteness of information from the Gros Ventre. The screen corresponds to the seven small trees of the Arapaho; the skull and the wheel on the stick are common to the two ceremonies; the red and the black upright stick have no Arapaho equivalents. The Arapaho trench, red and black logs, seven red and seven black sticks, seven wickets, and two sods with bushes, have not been mentioned among the Gros Ventre.

The miraculous raising of the centre pole does not seem to exist among the Arapaho.

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796 171 The Gros Ventre also introduce into the ceremony a thunder symbolism that the Arapaho lack, or have in a much less developed form. The lightning symbol on the centre pole, from which water can be drawn, and the power of the thunder to strike with lightning any dancer who drinks other water than this, evidence this.

Another element special to the Gros Ventre is the introduction of ceremonies relating to war, such as the dramatic performances and the seeing of the approach of the enemy by the pledger.

Features introducing miraculous and sometimes purely personal supernatural powers are apparently quite lacking from the Arapaho ceremony. Among the Gros Ventre there are the raising of the centre pole, the production of water from the centre pole with the crow, the clairvoyance of the pledger as regards the enemy, and the visions of some of the dancers.

In summary, the exact duration and sequence of all events in the Gros Ventre ceremony are not yet clear; the preliminary prairie-chicken tent does not correspond very closely to the Arapaho rabbit-tent; and the connection of the ceremony with the thunder, the introduction of warlike elements, and that of miraculous or personal features, are peculiar, or nearly so, to the Gros Ventre as compared with the Arapaho.

MODERN CEREMONIAL OBJECTS.

778 171 The recent ceremonial objects of the Gros Ventre are somewhat different from those of the Arapaho. The Arapaho were deeply affected by the ghost-dance movement, more, it is said, than any other tribe; and many of their modern religious regalia have a distinct character of their own. [668 177] The Gros Ventre received the ghost-dance from the Arapaho, but it seems to have taken little hold of them. The only distinctive ghost-dance objects seen or obtained were two small hoops and a few balls, all of which resemble Arapaho types. 177 The chief modern dance-ceremony of the Gros 778 Ventre, the only one performed at present, is the grass or war dance ob- 796 tained from the Sioux, and evidently a modification of the widespread Omaha dance upon which the Arapaho crow-dance is also based. This dance has in recent years been still further modified, until its character now is very similar to that of the crow-dance. [178] The regalia used in this dance at present are very individual, usually crude, and almost always stylistically degenerate. The delicate character and distinct style of the majority of modern Arapaho dance-objects are lacking.

171 The treatment of feathers in such objects is quite different among the 778 Gros Ventre and Arapaho. The Gros Ventre rarely ornament their feathers 287

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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with dyed plumes or tufts of horsehair, as the Arapaho so frequently do both at the base and top of the feather. Feathers with the vanes cut from the quill, except at the very top, are also scarcely used by the Gros Ventre. Instead, they usually cut the feather squarely off across its end, or split the quill, from the end down, for the greater part of its length. Sometimes the uppermost part of the quill is entirely removed, with its attached portions of the vanes, leaving the top of the feather forked. Plume-feathers are also much less used by the Gros Ventre than by the Arapaho. In dyeing, the Gros Ventre generally used cruder colors; a blue-violet, a pink-red, a light-bluish green, and yellow, all of them aniline colors, being the most common. The Arapaho use true red and green more frequently, and in most cases employ the dyes more lightly, thus obtaining endurable or delicate effects where the Gros Ventre are garish.

The Gros Ventre methods of feather-treatment, both the cutting-off and the splitting of the end of the feather, go back, at least in part, to their older tribal ceremonies. Both these processes are found employed on the dog-dance regalia described.

As regards other differences, the Gros Ventre probably employ more weasel-skin in ornaments than the Arapaho, though far less than their neighbors the Blackfeet. They use cloth (both cotton and woollen goods), red, green, or blue, without reluctance; whereas the Arapaho have clung very tenaciously to skin in all ceremonial objects. Skin thongs and sinew for binding are, however, very rarely replaced by strings and thread, even with the Gros Ventre.

The few objects obtained belonging to the ghost-dance movement are the following.

Fig. 41 shows an imitation of a netted playing-wheel. The piece is about two inches in diameter. The stitch of the meshes seems to be correct, though there are fewer meshes than in the full-sized wheels. The "crow," the centre mesh, is painted red; the rest of the thong, yellow. To the centre mesh are attached four magpie-feathers cut off across. This object was worn tied to the hair on the side of the head, or hanging from the little finger when the people joined hands to dance. Several very similar objects, lacking the feathers, are attached to the girl's painted dress shown in "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, Plate LXXV).

A head-dress consisting of a hoop of about the same size, quill-wound and bisected by two quill-wound strings, and of three long, blue-and-white quill-wound pendant thongs with plume-feathers at the ends, was collected by Dr. Clark Wissler. It is not known whether it belongs to the war-dance or the ghost-dance: its general similarity to certain Arapaho head-dresses

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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makes the latter seem possible. It differs from Arapaho objects chiefly in that the color-ornamentation of the quill-wrapping divides the hoop into three instead of four parts. At the upper end of the hoop is attached a bunch of seven small strips of whitish rabbit-fur, resembling the weasel-skin style of ornamentation characteristic of the Blackfoot.

Two balls (Figs. 24 and 25) are identical in character with Arapaho ghost-dance objects, and the latter was made in connection with the movement. These balls are described above.

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Fig. 41 (50-1922). Wheel Head-dress. Length, 21 cm.

The following objects, many of which were obtained by Dr. Clark Wissler and which were probably not connected with the ghost-dance, are of a character that does not seem to make it worth while to represent them in illustrations; but they resemble Arapaho or other pieces sufficiently for a brief description. They all appear to have been used in the war or grass dance.

Specimen Museum No. 50–1742 is a feathered crook modelled on the familiar type of curved lance that is common on the Plains, and to which the otterskin-wrapped lances of the second degree of the second Arapaho tribal ceremony belong.[1] The Gros Ventre too had such crooked lances in probably two of their tribal ceremonies. The present piece is about four feet long, and made of a stick painted yellow. There is no blade, or representation of it, at the lower end. At the end of the crook hangs a single eagle-feather. The greater portion of the shaft is covered by a casing of green cloth from which hang, attached by thongs and sinew wrapping painted yellow, a row of eighteen eagle-feathers.

A forked stick (specimen Museum No. 50–4328) resembles the Arapaho pieces of this kind described in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, p. 358). It is about six feet long, quite slender, and painted red. Some distance in the fork a quill-covered hoop is attached to the two spreading sticks. This hoop is red, with four white, blue-bordered areas on it. The ends of the fork are ornamented with a short green-cloth fringe, tufts of yellow-dyed hair, and feathers notched at the top. From the junction of the two arms downward,

[1] Compare Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part II, Plate xxxii.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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the stick is first covered with green cloth, then with skin covered with red and blue quill-work, and at the pointed end is bare, except for its red paint. 778 293

A feathered wheel a foot or a foot and a half across (specimen Museum No. 50–4292) is covered with red, blue, green, yellow, white, and black feathers and plumes, many of them dyed, and tied to the hoop without any attempt at color-pattern or other arrangement. Most of the feathers have the quill split. 171

Another hoop (specimen Museum No. 50–1745) is a little smaller, and is covered with brown buffalo-fur instead of feathers. At one point, five split owl-feathers and six black unsplit feathers are attached; at a place opposite, two small yellowed feathers, one with a green plume at the base.

Other specimens secured by Dr. Clark Wissler are a ceremonial spoon with long, thin, decorated handle, and a quirt. The latter (specimen Museum No. 50–4305) is similar to Arapaho ceremonial quirts.[1] A heavy wooden handle consists of two parts, — the handle proper and a longer portion with five deep notches in the lower edge. The upper edge is straight. The part of the handle that is notched is ornamented with brass tacks. From the end of the stick hang two ends of thong, the whip. At the handle is attached a skin of a fox or similar animal, ornamented with eagle-feathers. 191 415 778

A feather shield consists essentially of a circle of radiating feathers, worn on the back. 171 293

A crow-belt, also secured by Dr. Clark Wissler, is quite similar to the Arapaho one described in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, p. 345). It is interesting that of the five Arapaho pieces in the Museum, this is at once the crudest in construction, and the most perverted by white influence from aboriginal style. In the present Gros Ventre belt, a rectangular piece of rawhide is bent over a stick as a support for the remainder of the specimen. The two hanging "tail" strips are of yellow cloth, quite narrow, hanging apart. Eagle-feathers, some dyed red, are attached to them. The belt proper is formed by two pieces of woven yarn. In the middle of the piece are attached the head and breast of an eagle. Below this, between the two hanging strips, is an ornament of a row of eagle-feathers pointing downward. These are attached in the folded edge of a squarish piece of rawhide, thus resembling the analogous piece in the Arapaho crow-belt referred to and the Arapaho biitaha"wu head-dresses. The ornament, however, is fastened to the remainder of the piece, so that it cannot have been worn as a head-dress. The two usual projecting arms consist each of a black eagle-wing feather, with a strip of quill-embroidery laid along the quill of the feather, and with several small bells, 778 [237]

[1] Mooney, Ghost-Dance Religion (Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. XIV, p. 987, Fig. 94), shows a very similar quirt attributed to the dog-dance.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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171 293 778 whitish fur, and dyed horsehair tufts at the ends. At the base of each arm are red, yellow, and violet feathers. These are either cut off across the end, or have the uppermost part of the quill with its attached vanes removed.

CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH RELIGION.

171 276 778 Sacred pipes were important in the religion of the Gros Ventre. The beliefs and practices connected with these differ somewhat from those of the Arapaho. The Arapaho recognize only one sacred pipe, which is pre-eminent over all others. Its worship is entirely tribal, though it is in the keeping of an individual. It occupies much the place in tribal life that the sacred pole did among the Omaha. While there are other sacred objects, such as the wheels and bundles, none of them equal the pipe in the regard in which they are held. Among the Gros Ventre there is an analogue of the Arapaho pipe, but also several others. This multiplicity distinctly differentiates the character of the Gros Ventre pipes from that of the Arapaho. The Gros Ventre pipes are not all primarily connected with the origin of the world; they are in part obtained from other tribes. They thus resemble the inter-tribal peace-pipes of the eastern and northern Plains.

[888] The sacred pipes were kept by old men. Their keepers could retain them as long as they wanted. They transferred their pipe to another keeper or owner whenever they wished, especially if some one prayed on their behalf. At present the Gros Ventre have three pipes. It is said that formerly they had more, some of which have been buried with their last owners. The most sacred of these pipes is called "flat-pipe" (q̈äc̈itsa"). This is described as being made of catlinite, with the bowl in the shape of a person (inita"). The Arapaho sacred pipe is also called "flat-pipe," and also is not flat; but it differs from the Gros Ventre pipe in being cylindrical and tubular. About the centre of the stem of this Gros Ventre flat-pipe is tied a string. A person in the tent where the pipe is kept should not tell myths. If through forgetfulness he begins to do so, it is necessary for him to continue all night.

276 755 778 A sick man sometimes pledged to smoke one of the sacred pipes for his recovery. Then he provided food, and distinguished warriors were invited. Each of these had to recount four coups before the pipe could be lighted. A green cherry-branch was then taken, greased, and put into the fire to light the pipe with. If it burnt well, the man would recover; if it burnt poorly, they were afraid that he would not become well, or that something would happen. Then the pipe was smoked in the greatest silence. Cloth or calico was "given" to it, the wrapping last given being the one on the out-

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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837 and the younger women as well, all emphatically maintained that the practice was a Piegan one and not Gros Ventre. On the other hand, The Boy claimed that it was a Gros Ventre practice in his father's time, which extends further back than the actual experience of Singer and Coming Daylight. Mary's statement throws some light on the attitudes in the very recent past. "I have heard that the Piegans did that. My mother-in-law lived among them a long time and told me what their life was like. Once a man here wanted to try that public type of confession. He told everybody: 'We are going to have a big gathering to show off some of our Gros Ventre women. Now remember that this is a sacred thing and you have to swear to it. You don't dare get up there and lie, because if you do you will have bad luck.' I went to that party, but that part of the proceedings didn't come off. Someone had said to the man who was running it: 'You don't want to start this thing because it will cause a lot of trouble.' I guess that is why the host didn't go through with it, although he had the prize—a big quarter of beef—all ready to be given to the one who could honestly make that claim."

In commenting on what Mary had said, Singer and Coming Daylight gave two reasons why this public confession of chastity could not have been a Gros Ventre custom, and would have not been feasible in their day. First, in a gathering of that kind there would have been too many relatives before whom a woman had to be "ashamed"—brothers, cousins, uncles and father; therefore if a woman could justly claim to be chaste she couldn't have gotten up in public and said so. Secondly, it would have exposed too many women; every husband whose wife could not rise to the occasion would have been embarrassed and there would have been too much suspicion and jealousy engendered.

[171] This of course does not disprove the point made by The Boy that the public confession of chastity was in the more remote past a Gros Ventre as well as a Piegan custom, but it does imply that such a ceremony was in all likelihood not held by the Gros Ventres subsequently to 1855 or thereabouts.[11]

[11] Clark, who visited the Fort Belknap Agency for a few days in 1881 mentions, p. 198, that among other dances they have a Strong Dance for women,—intended as a support to their chastity.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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analysis was given by our informants with a good deal of hesitation. The form of direct address, Ni:nänä'än, was not used at the sacred pipe rites nor in trivial matters, but in grave emergencies, —in very solemn oaths or vows, extreme danger in battle, critical illness,—which concern the life or welfare of human beings. 776

The fourth form of address used for the Supreme Being was Iθəna'an "our (inclusive) father."[4] This name was in use as far back as our oldest informants, Coming Daylight and Singer, could remember. The Gros Ventres are quite aware that their close linguistic and cultural kin, the Arapaho, use the name "father" for the Supreme Being. The Gros Ventres, however, unlike the Arapaho, never call him "grandfather."

Finally, the Supreme Being is also spoken of as initci:t nihəne:- [171]
həniхtè (life, he owns) "owner, or master of life," a common expression to or of the Supreme Being among other Algonquian-speaking peoples.[5]

The Supreme Being, unlike the culture-hero, had no wife or children. He does not figure at all in the Gros Ventre folklore, nor even in the origin myths to be given later, except insofar as the culture-hero taught the people to worship him. The Supreme Being's appearance was completely unknown; the culture hero who taught the people to pray to him did not describe how he looked; and in all the folklore and sacred stories of the Gros Ventres there is no record of the Supreme Being having a body or taking material form or appearing in dream or vision in material form. As The Boy put it: "If anyone had ever seen the Supreme Being, he would have described how he looked, and this story would have been handed down as the biggest one in all the Gros Ventre tales."

The nearest to such is a story regarding the first Catholic priest[6] who came to the Gros Ventres when The Boy's father, Lame Bull (born 1824) was a young man old enough to remember the event well. At first the Gros Ventres said: "The Supreme Being has come down from above. He is the priest." The Supreme Being 776 797

[4] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, p. 275.
[5] Cf. Cooper, 1934, p. 71.
[6] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 20.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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He was the "master of life" as previously mentioned. Long life was the result of something more than conformity to "health rules," such as daily morning cold baths to harden the body.[9] "The Supreme Being allows people to live long. If he wanted, he cut off their lives." "When people die, it is the Supreme Being who cuts off their lives." "Very old people lived a long life because they were pitied by the Supreme Being." The Boy's father, Lame Bull, said that "a man lives, not his own life, but according to what is given him and wished by Ixtcibani:hahat. A man has what he has by the wish of the One Above."

The Gros Ventres understood by that that the aged had survived to old age not by accident, but by the permission and wish of the Supreme Being. It was common for young men to approach in tears a very old man or woman, offer a pipe, and request him or her to ask the Supreme Being to grant him long life, to make him a good warrior who would be immune to arrows or bullets when he was shot at.[10]

In grave illness the Supreme Being would be appealed to to spare the sick person's life. It was a common belief that the Supreme Being would not permit [redacted] to slaughter a smaller number [redacted] own camp. When a group of young Gros[redacted] was leaving for World War II, the Supreme Be[redacted] to in an old song that he would watch over them [redacted] come back home unharmed; although there we[redacted] casualties among Gros Ventre soldiers in World War II[redacted] of the above particular group was even wounded.

The Supreme Being as the one who "owns everything" was the provider of food. He was not called "master of food," as was common among the northeastern Algonquians,[11] living closer than the Gros Ventres to a scarcity economy; food, it was felt, was "too little" a thing, and the title undignified. But all good things to eat, including "wild" food such as berries, fruits, roots and tubers, came from the Supreme Being and were given by him.

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[9] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 144.
[10] Cf. Flannery, 1953, pp. 195-96.
[11] Cooper, 1934, p. 71.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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keen intelligence and memory, stated the same, adding that her old grandmother was also familiar with the name of Ixtciboni:hohat for him. Furthermore the names for the Supreme Being as believed in by the Gros Ventres are commonly used for him among the Arapaho. Finally, the Gros Ventre concept itself of the Supreme Being tallies well in its main elements with the concept that is of universal or almost universal occurrence among the Algonquian-speaking peoples, to whom the Gros Ventres belong linguistically and, in spite of their dominantly Plains culture, in not a few important respects culturally as well.

The internal evidence corroborates the external. The whole Gros Ventre complex is quite lacking in distinctive Christian elements,—such as prayer to the Supreme Being for forgiveness, reward and punishment by him in the future life, going to the Supreme Being after death, the Trinity, a supreme evil spirit, and so forth,—elements which would be emphasized in most evangelization by Catholic missionaries. On the contrary, the complex has a distinctly aboriginal coloring. Mastery, including mastery of life, is to the fore, with making or creating hazy or in the background. The Supreme Being's names, apart from that of Father, seem clearly native, not white. It is certainly most unlikely that missionaries would have invented a term such as Ixtciboni:hohat by compounding the name of the trickster, whose vulgar and obscene escapades were matters of such common knowledge.

Finally, the Supreme Being concept is tied intimately into the whole ritual of the Gros Ventre, a ritual which itself is obviously aboriginal, with only the faintest traces, if any, of Christian infiltration.

Other Cult Beings

Next to the Supreme Being, the supernatural being most frequently mentioned by our informants was Bha'a,[18] the storm ruler or the thunderbird. He was also called, less commonly: etcitane:

[18] Informants insisted on the aspiration in the name of the thunderbird, bha'a. Without aspiration the term ba'a means "it is red," and the term ba'ats, means "blood."

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

276 would use tobacco in his prayers for the patient. If the patient survived but was still weak, the keeper made him smoke to get back his strength. So some of the other tribesmen learned to smoke. Gradually social (and recreative) smoking took its place together with ceremonial smoking.

In earlier times, the women never smoked either ritually or socially. Even in rites where they had an important role, such as [562] the inauguration of a new pipe keeper, they did not smoke, as women were considered secondary, not equal to men. Even as late as The Boy's and Thick's early boyhood in the decade before the last buffalo disappeared (1884), only the old women smoked, never the young girls. The spread of the custom among these old women was probably due to their discovery by experience that the smoking prescribed for maladies, such as, chronic headache, was good for the body. But even today, although women smoke non-ritually when alone or among themselves, they are not allowed to smoke at a Pipe rite, and, if wives are present when a man invites a group of men for a social visit or meal and he fills up his pipe to give his guests a smoke, he does not offer the pipe to the wives.

Tobacco was used only in pipe smoking. It was sometimes smoked straight by old men and old women, and by the sick as [17] a cure. But ordinarily the Gros Ventres smoked it mixed either [824] with red willow, as did the Cree and Assiniboine, or preferably, and in the Flat Pipe rites always, with larb.

Larb is "a ground plant that grows on hills and mountains." We could get no specimen for identification. After the tobacco and larb were mixed, a little more larb than tobacco, fat was worked into the mixture to season it. On taking leave from his Gros Ventre [431 friends in 1940 the present author was given a small bag of this 609] mixture as a token of peace and good will and found the mixture a very pleasant aromatic smoke.

278 The wild parsley, associated with the Flat and Feathered Pipe and with the Crazy Lodge, was used as a powerful poison. It was greatly feared and was spoken of in undertones. Its preparation is a lost art. The whole plant was and is considered poisonous, but poison was prepared principally from the root, which was first

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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the one who introduced the Sacrifice Dance among the Gros Ventre people."

Although in the origin story, it was the chief buffalo who promised to give aid to those who would perform the Sacrifice Dance, actually the chief buffalo was not prayed to during it, nor was the sun or any other being except the Supreme Being and Bha'a. Our chief informants have considerable knowledge of the Piegan (Blackfoot), Assiniboine and Crow Sun Dances, and emphasized various important differences, as they understood them, between these dances and their own Sacrifice Dance. "These sacrifices [in the Sacrifice Dance]," Al Chandler remarked, "were made to God, not to the Sun. I have always wondered why people call our Sacrifice Dance the Sun Dance. Anything the Blackfeet cannot understand they call the Sun and think he must be something." According to The Boy and Thick, while the Blackfeet pray to the Sun and while the Assiniboine in their Sun Dance pray and sing to the Thunder Bird (corresponding to the Gros Ventre Bha'a), the Gros Ventres in their own Sacrifice Dance prayed chiefly to Ixtcibani:hohat, secondarily, as will be explained later, to Bha'a, and with some incidental mention of or appeal to the Four Holy Beings and Those-who-follow-each-other (Sun and Moon) when praying with a pipe. Vows to carry out the Sacrifice Dance were made by the Gros Ventres only to the Supreme Being; the sacrifices of property, the prayer-"sacrifices" of self-torture and fasting, and the chief verbalized and gesture prayers during the rite were likewise directed to him. Our informants consistently and insistently emphasized that the Gros Ventre Sacrifice Dance was, in this sense, a predominantly theistic ceremony.

While more generally the Sacrifice Dance was regarded as of lower ritual rank than the Flat and Feathered Pipe rites and as of higher rank than any of the other seven sacred Dances, there was some difference of view on the point among our informants. The Boy, who himself emphatically ranked Flat Pipe rite as far and away first in dignity of all Gros Ventre ceremonies, with the Feathered Pipe rite, Sacrifice Dance, and other dances following in this order of dignity, summed up the situation as follows:

"While the supreme religion of the Gros Ventres was the Flat

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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utmost to be fervent and sincere,"—would, at some time or times (not specified by our informants) during the rite, keep staring fixedly for a long time at the "nest" in the fork of the center pole. The purpose was mostly "to see things that related to war." "If the gazer saw the forms of headless human beings, that meant that the Gros Ventres were going to be given an enemy to kill." Sometimes was seen a human form, healthy, all painted up and dressed in good clothes: This meant that the favors being sought through the Sacrifice Dance would be granted. In the Assiniboine and Cree Sun Dances, our Gros Ventre informants said, the staring is done in contrast to the Gros Ventre custom, at the knots in the center pole, but for what purpose our informants did not know.

This divination gazing to foreknow martial fortunes, taken together with the markedly martial symbolism underlying the scouting for and felling of the center pole, lend a definitely, although by no means exclusively or even predominantly, war coloring to the Sacrifice Dance,—a coloring almost entirely absent from the Sacred Pipe rites, which are concerned dominantly though not exclusively, with long life, food and health.

The gazing, at "Bha'a's nest," brought Bha'a, the Thunder Bird and ruler of the storm, prominently into the Sacrifice Dance, as did also the thunder bird and lightning symbols painted on the bodies of the dancers and carved on the center pole as well as certain reliances on and prayers to him during the Dance. "If the dancers had danced a long time," according to Al Chandler, "and were getting weak, Bha'a, it was claimed, could make it cool and shady or even make it rain." Bha'a, too, was mentioned, after the Supreme Being, in some at least of the prayers with the common pipe. In all cases however, where Bha'a entered into prayers, he was either given subordinate second-place mention or was appealed to as a subordinate agent, with limited autonomy, of the Supreme Being. The vows, the sacrifices of goods and flesh, the tortures, and predominantly the prayers and rites were to the Supreme Being. As one informant put it, "all the things done in the Sacrifice Dance,—the tortures and so forth,—were one great mass prayer to the Supreme Being."

We recorded five of the Sacrifice Dance songs, but there were

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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*796 608 When, consequently, a Crazy Dance was in the offing, older men who learned that they might be asked to be ritual grandfathers were very apt to run away and hide. But they could not sleep forever out on the hills, and when they came home, they would be stalked and caught by surprise, by day or night, and offered a pipe by an individual or group of two to four who intended to participate in the coming Dance. The group had secretly convened and decided on their grandfather. Finally bringing a filled pipe with them they would go to his lodge and walk in. The older man would then be practically trapped, for in accordance with the general Gros Ventre pattern an offered pipe could hardly be refused. He might wilt and long hesitate, sitting with bowed head while the visitors entreated him to accept and to help them carry out their part in the Dance. [576]

If on any occasion in the past he had had sex relations with any of these men's wives, either before or after their marriage to them, he would, when offered the pipe, be sacredly obligated to make indirect confession of the fact by refusing the pipe and saying to them (or to the individual young man, if the latter was alone), "My grandchildren, you are stillborn. I cannot serve as your grandfather," or "Go to somebody else. She is not your wife," or using some similar circumlocution. Such a reply might cause great embarrassment and worry to the young man, who perhaps had never suspected his wife.[1] Failure to confess would be "something wrong, a violation of belief or important custom" and would be followed by misfortune, even early death.

If when offered the pipe, stem first, the older man accepted it, and with it the office of grandfather, he would get up and say to the offerer: "All right, we will go outside." After they got outside the lodge the old man would say: "Now, young man, face east." The older man would stand behind him, holding the pipe stem up, and pronounce the vow, "A woman is being offered so that such-and-such a person will recover from sickness and get well. We are going to have a Crazy Dance. He [the young man]

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[1] The Arapaho custom in this matter was quite similar, we were told by an Arapaho woman, the widow of a Gros Ventre, who was present while we were discussing the point.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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757 sional individuals; supernatural remedies used only by professional medicine men or women with power.

Natural Remedies

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515 Both preventive and curative measures of the natural or rational order were numerous.

The most common preventive measure was the daily early morning plunge in the stream or roll in the snow by men, a practice carried out for hardening the body as well as for cleaning it. In small epidemics scattering and isolation were regularly resorted to in order to check the spread of the disease. The use of skunk fluid as a curative was more a Cree than a Gros Ventre procedure, but there was a Gros Ventre belief that skunk fluid diluted with water and put into the eyes of a person was a preventive and cure of snow-blindness. A mother, on knowing herself pregnant again, would cease nursing her infant lest it suffer from "bad stomach and diarrhea." Drinking the blood of a freshly butchered buffalo was looked upon as a preventive of tuberculosis.

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757 Curative measures of the rational order were of many kinds. We recorded the following, but our list is far from exhaustive. All of them may best be classified as "domestic remedies," measures of common knowledge, resorted to by everybody who wished to use them, and not considered proprietary right of particular individuals.

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278 Many herbal curatives came under this category.[5] The roots of "sweetheart briars," so called because the burrs stuck so tightly, were used for colds, and the deeper the root the stronger was the medicine.[6]

An infusion of peppermint is now used as a beverage by everybody for "fits, spasms and stomach disorders," although the medicinal use of peppermint was formerly the monopoly of Flat Pipe keepers. A very strong drink was made by boiling a certain root and just a little of it drunk as a cure for difficulty in urination.

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[5] Cf. list in Kroeber, 1908, pp. 224-27. We made no attempt in the field to get a full list of such herbal and other curatives.

[6] The Piegan, according to Coming Daylight and Singer, used these as "blood medicine."

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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cave. The keeper heard the commotion and suspected that White Man had gotten inside the cave. The keeper tried to hold the buffalo back, but they dashed madly through the cave opening, ran over the man and trampled him to death. 539 773

White Man kept barking till he had driven all the buffalo out of the cave and scattered them in all directions so they would not return to the cave. Then White Man assumed his own body again, went back to the dead keeper's camp, and raped the keeper's wife and daughter. Then he left to go in search of the camp of the main body of the Gros Ventres. When he arrived there he announced to them that he had driven all the buffalo out of the cave and that the keeper was dead and told them all he had done, and foretold that they would never more have trouble in getting buffalo. Since that time the buffalo have remained on top of the ground and the Gros Ventres have had plenty of meat and have been hungry no longer.

3. Earthmaker and the Deluge[5]

The (primeval) keeper of the Flat Pipe, known as Earthmaker, knew in some way that the earth was going to be covered with water. It must have been that he was the only one who knew it for he was the only one who got ready to survive the flood. The Keeper made a big raft of logs and took the Pipe and put it on the raft. In the course of time the whole earth was under water. The Keeper just floated around everywhere on the raft, only himself and the Pipe with no other human beings or animals.[6] After a long time the Keeper saw a mountain top sticking up out of the water. He drifted toward it and landed there. When he landed he saw lots of birds and some animals. Right away he was glad that he had struck land and had some company in the way of animals and birds. He knew that the helldiver (mud hen), turtle, beaver, and muskrat were water beings. So he had them dive to get some earth from the bottom and to bring it back to where he was. First he sent Helldiver who after a while came up drowned. The

[5] Cf. Kroeber, 1907, pp. 59-61 (Nos. 1 and 2). Our version of the deluge story seems to correspond with Kroeber's No. 1 in which the person who sends the animals to dive is not identified directly with the trickster. The incidents in our version correspond, however, somewhat to those in Kroeber's No. 2, including the importance of the pipe and the making of man and woman. The Boy, our narrator, had thought that the latter might show Christian influence but stated that when he questioned older men, like Bushy Head, they emphatically declared that the incident was included in the old Gros Ventre tradition. [R.F.]

[6] Charles Buckman's version of this myth differed in that he claimed that "Earthmaker was floating in a pipe bowl,—the sacred pipe [Flat Pipe] represents this." Floating in the pipe bowl corresponds to the Arapaho version. [171]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

up and one should sing the other's song then they must say: 'We have lost track of our song,' and must stop singing. But this must happen three times before they quit singing for good on such an occasion." And so all the societies imitate the calls of animals and birds. 539 773

Then the people multiplied more and more and followed strictly all the teaching about the Flat Pipe. This was the one and only sacred pipe they had until the time when the other sacred pipe, the Feathered Pipe, appeared on the scene. And it was the Ruler of the Storm who gave the Gros Ventre the Feathered Pipe.

What became of Keeper is not known, whether he died a natural death or not, nor is anything known of what became of White Man.

4. Origin of Death

When Earthmaker had made man and woman, and everything was finished, Earthmaker, man, woman and the animals were all sitting around admiring how beautiful everything was and talking together. Earthmaker put the question to humans and animals: "Now, how do you want things to run? You are going to multiply. If you die, shall you stay dead, or shall you come back to life again?" So the man and woman and animals had to decide, with Earthmaker as the judge.

The man took a buffalo chip and threw it in the water, saying: "Here's the way I want our lives to run." The chip sank and then came up to the surface. "I want life to be like that. We shall die but we shall come back to life again."

But the bear said: "No, that way won't do. Soon the earth would be full and there would be no room, and not enough for everyone to eat. There will be more pleasure and happiness in life if all die. Then there will always be new generations to succeed them." So the bear took a rock and threw it in the water, saying: "Here is the way I want life to be." The rock sank and remained down.

So Earthmaker decided: "This is the way it shall be, like this rock."

5. He-who-starved-to-death[1]

A long time ago the Gros Ventre lived in a land that was good, with plenty of game and of other things needed and used in their way of life.

[1] This story is not recorded by Kroeber. It contains the incident of a person crossing a body of water on the legs of a bird and shaken off, which was mentioned by Kroeber (1907, p. 58) as one of the motifs widespread in central N. America which to that date had not been recorded for the Gros Ventres or Arapaho. It also contains another common motif, that of the magically replenished food, which does not occur in Kroeber's Gros Ventre collection. [R.F.] [171]

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

525 571 we-group altruism, cohesion, and loyalty, the more gambling and the greater the stakes and vice versa.

Two less important, secondary determinants were the rules of avoidance and respect on the one hand and those of familiarity and license on the other. In general, the greater the degree of avoidance and respect demanded between two persons or classes, the less gambling and the smaller the stakes; the greater the degree of familiarity and license permitted, the more gambling and the bigger the stakes.

A fourth determinant was the element of the sacred (and/or ascetic) associated with certain offices and with the persons occupying them, an element which barred gambling by and/or against these persons, namely, pipe keepers and ritual grandfathers.

A fifth determinant was obviously in operation, although the field evidence therefor is not abundant. We got no record, however, of Gros Ventre gambling with their ancient, hereditary and bitter enemies, the Sioux. Gambling, even to [648] strip opponents completely, presupposes a minimum of friendliness between the players, or at least the absence of deadly and unqualified hostility.

If we diagram along a horizontal belt the full range of human relationships from unqualified friendliness and altruism on the extreme left through the various gradations to unqualified hostility and malevolence on the extreme right, Gros Ventre gambling may be represented on this belt as absent from the extreme left end, gradually increasing in frequency and in size of stakes as we pass along the central section toward the right, and then suddenly dropping and completely disappearing near the extreme right end.

Besides these five determinants or conditioning factors in Gros Ventre gambling, there were perhaps others, but this is as far as our evidence and our analysis thereof have gone. Of course, one cannot have gambling without some kind of close-range or long-range contact between the gamblers, without some kind of property or other valued thing to wager, and so forth, but working out a list of such requisites would be labor lost.

Before leaving this subject, we should emphasize that, while the preceding pages have referred particularly to the bettor-wager pattern as holding for the hand game, the same pattern held as well for all other Gros Ventre gambling games and contests.[7]

[171 525] 7 In our world sources on gambling we have noted only two explicit references, and these extremely brief, to the bettor-wager pattern: G. Goodwin, *The Social Organization of the Western Apache* (Chicago, 1942), p. 375, "certain types of gambling" are prevented "between members of the same clan," for it would be "like winning it [property] from yourself"; R.

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

NATIVE ATTITUDES

The attitude of the Gros Ventre toward their own gambling was a somewhat ambivalent one. Toward gambling practised within the limitations of the bettor-wager pattern, there was, by and large, no strong disapproval. Such gambling was in the main taken for granted. Yet such approval as was given, even as regards much of the gambling that conformed to the bettor-wager pattern, was in certain respects qualified and circumscribed.

Pretty near everyone gambled who had anything to wager. Boys and girls, men and women participated. We recorded only one specific exception, in the person of Mrs Warrior, although there may have been others. There appears to have been no disapproval at all of gambling for "cooking," and very little of gambling for takes of trivial or small value, within of course the bettor-wager pattern. There was a good deal of disapproval of gambling for big or ruinous stakes—how widely shared, how serious, and how "intolerant," it is hard to say.

Parents, however—some at least—commonly counseled their children against

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Landes, *The Ojibwa Woman* (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 31, 1938), p. 28, differences between gambling by members of same household and by persons from different households. Under date of September 9, 1939, Father Herbert Prueher wrote to Cooper that among the Wachaga of Tanganyika Territory, East Africa, gambling is [only] by non-relatives, distant friends and strangers; under date of June 30, 1944, Father Berard Haile wrote that among the Navaho no gambling occurred between relatives or between members of same clan.

In short reconnaissance field studies among the Sinkaetku (Southern Okanagon) of Washington, the Kalispel of St Ignatius Mission, Montana, and the Blackfoot of Browning, Montana, in 1938, and the Assiniboine of Ft. Belknap Reservation, Montana, in 1939, Cooper gathered the following fragmentary data on the respective patterns:

Sinkaetku: No gambling against one's brother, sister or cousin: "If my brother wants anything I have, I say to him, 'Take it,' without any question." No gambling between members of same family, nor between members of a group wintering together. Not right to gamble except with "strangers." Intertribal gambling for big stakes customary.

Kalispel: No gambling between brothers. No twosome gambling between cousins, but cousins might gamble as members of opposing teams. Two teams from same village might gamble sometimes, but not often. Gambling is mostly between teams from different villages or tribes.

Blackfoot: Two brothers or two members of same band could gamble against each other only for small stakes; two members of different societies, such as the Brave Dogs and the Doves, could gamble against each other for big stakes, such as horses.

Assiniboine: Blood relatives, such as brothers and other close relatives, would not gamble on opposite sides against one another; they would gamble on same side always. Two brothers-in-law or two sisters-in-law could gamble against each other, but a son-in-law could not gamble against his father-in-law or his mother-in-law on account of current avoidance and respect conventions. Intertribal gambling is customary.

In our own American white culture there are clear indications of a bettor-wager pattern in gambling. No systematic field study thereof has, however, been made, so far as the present writers can discover.

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13
Blackfoot NF6 Assiniboine NF4
Montagnais NH6
Ojibwa NG6
Cree NG4

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ghost went away. They waited and sang the song. When the ghost came back, they asked him: "What did you find out?" He replied: "I went clear to the Little Rockies and the Bear Paws. Between the two ranges, a creek makes a big bend, and in the middle of the big bend is a ridge. There your young men got killed."

When some years ago, The Boy told me, the road between Hays (at the foot of the Little Rockies) and Three Buttes was being built, on a ridge several holes were found in the rocks, and in one of the holes five skulls, as if a fight had occurred there. Platted Hair believed this to have been the scene of the above fight.

G B [177]

We may add that there has been a great deal of close association between the Gros Ventres and the Blackfoot-Blood-Piegan, especially in recent generations.

Assiniboine Rite

The writer's first information on the shaking tent rite among the Assiniboine of Fort Belknap Reservation (which they have long shared with the Gros Ventres) came as a casual afterthought from a Gros Ventre informant, in 1931. After giving the summary account of the Gros Ventre rite recorded earlier in this article, he added that the same rite is also found among the Fort Belknap Assiniboine.

G A [171]

In the summer of 1940, my chief Gros Ventre informant, The Boy, stated that the Fort Belknap Assiniboine also had the ghost helper concept. In the case of one ghost-possessor at least, there were bells on top (or at the top) of his lodge, and when the ghost helper came, the bells would shake and the whole top of the lodge would shake. This possessor's name was "Standing Dog," or "Dog Rises," or a similar name. One ghost is credited with having thrown a performer on top of the lodge frame. Further details were not known by The Boy, and I had no good opportunity to consult the Assiniboine themselves.

A [791]

C M O [171]

Montagnais-Cree-Ojibwe Rite

The "shaking tent" rite is universal or practically so among

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13
Assiniboine NF4 Montagnais NH6
Blackfoot NF6 Ojibwa NG6
Cree NG4

CMO 787 776

the Têtes-de-Boule and the Abitibi.[1] Mikenak, an Oteipwe (-Algonkin) form, among the above listed Cree groups points to diffusion of the name,—not necessarily of this particular spokesman, as is evidenced by the Ft. Chipewyan Mi'skenak. Mistabeo, as spokesman among the above-listed Montagnais bands, is an independent non-human being or spirit, not a man's "other self" or kind of soul.

CMO 787 171

The "Houdini trick," in which the shaking tent performer escapes from the thongs with which he is tied, was found among the Cree of Ft. Chipewyan, McMurray, and Rocky Boy, the Oteipwe of Lake of the Woods, and the Oteipwe(-Algonkin) of Abitibi. This Abitibi occurrence marks the farthest eastern extension found by me of the trick in connection with the shaking tent.[2] I did not learn of its use among the Oteipwe of the upper Albany River at Ft. Hope and Osnaburgh, though fairly extensive information on the shaking tent rite was obtained at these two localities in 1927. The "Houdini trick" is definitely lacking among the James Bay Cree, the Têtes-de-Boule, and the Montagnais groups studied.

Some further general and specific characteristics of the Montagnais-Crée-Oteipwe shaking tent rite will be given in the next section of the present paper.

CMO [114] GMOCAB 787 171

Generalizations

The following generalizations are based partly on the foregoing data, partly on the writer's still unpublished fuller field notes on the Montagnais, Cree, and Oteipwe(-Algonkin).

Certain characters are common to the rite as practised both among the forest Montagnais-Cree-Oteipwe and Plains Cree and among the Gros Ventres and—so far as our fragmentary infor-

[1] Father R. Déléage, O.M.I., Letter of Nov. 1, 1863, in Rapport sur les missions du diocese de Québec, Mar., 1864, no. 16, pp. 74–75, reported the "Houdini trick" in connection with the shaking tent rite among, apparently, the Grand Lake Victoria Oteipwe(-Algonkin)-speaking Indians.

[2] It was earlier reported among the Cree of York Factory, by Thomas M'Keevor, A voyage to Hudson's Bay during the summer of 1812, London 1819, 58.

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13
Assiniboine NF4 Cree NG4 Montagnais NH6
Blackfoot NF6 Ojibwa NG6

GMOC&B 787 171

mation goes—the Blackfoot-Blood and Ft. Belknap Assiniboine. These common features are: shaking of the top of the tent or lodge at entrance and departure of spirit; entrance and departure of spirit by way of top of lodge; departure, during rite, of spirit after being questioned, to find facts, and subsequent return to tent with desired answer; performer not possessed by spirit, but spirit(s) speak(s) to or in presence of performer; performer concealed from sight of spectators and clients during visitation by spirit(s); no trance or ecstasy by performer, and performers not of psychopathic personality as such; spirits summoned primarily to obtain through them knowledge, chiefly knowledge hidden by barriers of time (future) and space (distance), or counsel on practical problems; a smoke given the spirit(s), and spectators smoke; absence of direct participation of Supreme Being in rite (apart from a minor exception or two); rite as such concerned with personal beings, not with impersonal forces, and thus a religious, not a magical rite (as many define religion and magic).

In certain features, the rite among the forest Montagnais-Cree-Otcipwe and Plains Cree consistently differs from that among the Gros Ventre, Blackfoot-Blood and Ft. Belknap Assiniboine. In the rite as found among the former: while one of the spirits is usually the chief informant or spokesman, other spirits and beings ordinarily come into the tent during the rite; all these spirits and beings are animistic; not manistic—never ghosts; humor, joking, trivial banter by the visiting spirit common; the "Houdini trick" absent from Montagnais and eastern Cree rite; food is not offered to the visiting beings.

On the other hand, in the rite as found among the Gros Ventres and, so far as our limited information goes, the Blackfoot-Blood and Ft. Belknap Assiniboine: one spirit only comes into the tent; the spirit that is summoned is exclusively a ghost, a deceased relative of the performer; humor, joking, trivial banter by the ghost are lacking; the "Houdini trick" is customary, except in emergency; food, especially the delicacy, puppy meat, is offered to and partaken of by visiting ghost.

So far as my information goes, among the above Montagnais-

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13
Assiniboine NF4 Montagnais NH6
Blackfoot NF6 Ojibwa NG6
Cree NG4

BCMOCA 787 171

Cree-Oteipwe, the power to summon the shaking tent spirit(s) is not thrust upon the person by any spirit, as in a great measure it is among the Gros Ventres.

In general, the shaking tent rite appears to have much more relative importance and to play a much more preponderant role in the total magico-religious life of the Montagnais-Cree-Oteipwe than of the Gros Ventres, Blackfoot-Blood and Assiniboine.

BCMOCA [77]

That there is a historical relationship between the two above contrasted shaking tent complexes appears very probable from the many specific and distinctive elements they share in common and from the almost continuous geographical distribution of the complexes, a distribution moreover predominantly among the main body of Algonquian-speaking peoples of the taiga and adjacent open country and the aberrant-Algonquian-speaking groups of the Plains, the Gros Ventres, the Blackfoot, and the Cheyenne.

Addendum on Wider Distribution

G 787 171 [114]

It has not been the purpose of the present paper to deal with the total distribution of the shaking tent rite and with the historical problems connected with such distribution. The following summary notes are added merely to contribute a mite toward filling out the picture of distribution as given in Ray's historical study and Hallowell's socio-psychological one.[8]

In the east, the shaking tent is not reported in our published sources, to my knowledge, south of the St. Lawrence. The record by Maurault for the Abnaki does not mention shaking of the conjurer's tent.[9] Inquiries by the writer in the field in 1931 among the Chipewyan and Dogrib of the Mackenzie-Slave watershed brought consistently negative results; in fact informants who knew well and gave many details of the rite as practised among the Cree of Ft. McMurray (Athabaska R.) and Ft. Chipewyan (L. Athabaska), on the Cree-Chipewyan borderline, and who were equally familiar with both Cree and Chipewyan

[8] Ray, 1941; Hallowell, 1942. See footnote 1.

[9] J. A. Maurault, Histoire des Abenakis depuis 1605 jusqu'à nos jours, Québec, 1866, 30.

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

culture, emphasized that the shaking tent rite was practised by the Cree only, and not by the Chipewyan, even in these border areas when the two peoples were in very close contact and association.

To the far north, however, the "Houdini trick" and the shaking of the conjurer's hut on the arrival of his spiritual helper was earlier reported by Boas among the Central Eskimos.[10] Lowie has also recorded among the Crow a tent-shaking rite very like that of the Gros Ventres and Cheyenne.[11] The first report and discussion, by Donald Collier, of the Kiowa occurrence is published in the present issue of Primitive Man. Regina Flannery has called my attention to the occurrence of the shaking-of-the-tent motif among the early Creek.[12]

Still farther afield, I have come across no reference to a shaking tent element in the many accounts of northern Asiatic and Lapp shamanism, but have made no thorough systematic search. In South America, I know of only one instance of a somewhat similar rite, that earlier reported among the Chiquitoan Manasi of eastern Bolivia. Part of the large public assembly hall was curtained off with mats, which part was reserved for the "high priest" alone and the visiting spirits. As the gods or spirits came down, a sound filled the air and shook the roof of the building and the mats. Chicha and food were offered the spirits. The people sang. The gods were consulted by the "high priest" about future events such as rains, harvests, fishing and hunting, whereabouts of game, outcome of prospective war raids.—the conversation being audible to the crowd outside the curtained compartment. The gods on departing shook the whole building as they ascended.[13]

[10] F. Boas, The central Eskimo, BAE-R 6 for 1884–85, Washington, 1888, 593–94.

[11] R. H. Lowie, The religion of the Crow Indians, AMNH-AP, v. 25, pt. 2 1922, 380–81; same, The Crow Indians, New York, 1935, 70–71.

[12] Captain Bossu, Travels through . . . Louisiana, tr., London, 1771, 1: 264–65, among the Allibamon (Alabama).

[13] A. Métraux, The social organization and religion of the Mojo and Manasi, in Primitive Man, 1943, 16: 22–23.

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

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171

The more distant of the above instances, those from the Eskimo and Creek and from the Manasi of South America are merely set down here as of record. We are not justified—as yet—in assuming historical relationship. The distances seem too great, and the resemblances too vague and generic. What future more complete descriptive and distributional information may suggest remains to be seen.

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

796 dance.[3] Wissler was well aware of the importance of the Grass
114 dance in the transition period of Plains culture from the old to the new, and suggested further studies be made. Nevertheless, no one has given us a close-up, so far as I know, of its dynamic aspects in the life of any one of the tribes who shared the phenomenon.

796 In 1901 Kroeber noted that the Grass dance as then performed
114 by the Gros Ventres differed considerably in form from that
177 which was described to him as having been the case when it was first adopted. He gives us a brief description of the earlier procedure, but naturally enough no details regarding the then current method of carrying out the Grass dance, since his concern was with the older tribal culture. He merely states: "It is no longer a young man's dance, nor confined to a certain group. All the people in the tribe take part in it. It is very similar in character to the present-day Arapaho crow-dance, as well as in the place it occupies in the life of the people. Among the Gros Ventre it is now the only dance held."[4] Our data, gathered during two visits to the Fort Belknap Reservation in 1940 and 1945, confirm Kroeber's and supplement them to a considerable extent.

121 In treating of the Grass dance then, we shall distinguish be-
128 tween an earlier period extending from between 1875 to 1880 up to about 1890, and a later period comprising the years from roughly 1890 to 1916. We shall first describe the form of the Grass dance as it was in the earlier period, then the changes which were later introduced, and finally we shall discuss the varying functions during both periods.

The Form: Earlier Period

796 According to Wissler the dance originated with the Dakota
177 about 1860 and is traceable as a development of the older Pawnee
171

[3] These specimens are in the American Museum of Natural History. Some of those used in the Gros Ventre Grass dance have been described by Kroeber, loc. cit.: fork, pp. 270–71; spoon, p. 271; whip, p. 271; crow-belt, pp. 271–72.

[4] Kroeber, loc. cit., p. 238.

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

Iruska.[5] In its diffusion it reached the Assiniboine from the Sioux, —Rodnick places the date at 1872,[6]—and the Assiniboine in turn passed it on to the Gros Ventres, sometime between the years 1875 and 1880. We arrive at this approximate dating by reckoning the age of a now venerable old Gros Ventre woman informant who witnessed the actual transfer when she herself was in her later twenties or possibly early thirties. From all the evidence at our command it is fairly certain that she was born between 1850 and 1855. This informant not only was an eye-witness of the adoption of the ceremony by the Gros Ventres but also participated actively, so far as a woman could, in both the earlier and later phases of the dance. Before giving details of the regalia, personnel, and procedures it might be well to insert at this point her account of the actual transfer.

"The Gros Ventres were camped on the Milk River. They were joined there by the Assiniboine and the two tribes remained together while the Assiniboine taught the Gros Ventres the Grass dance. The Gros Ventres had never had any dancing of that kind before and called it jokingly *inaetenin* (moving-buttocks) referring to the way they danced. The Assiniboine gave crow-belts (feather bustles) to each of two men, and likewise swords to two others. They needed one man as spear (fork) man and two as *atsa'an* (waiters, servants). They also gave the Gros Ventres a big drum and everything that goes with the dance. The visitors showed the different individuals how to use these various things and taught the songs and dances that went with each. But they didn't do all that for nothing! Of all the things they had to give away to the Assiniboine! Even food was included in the exchange. The Gros Ventres had an enormous quantity of food prepared and you should have seen the number of puppies we cooked. The Assiniboine surely liked those pups. That was the first Grass dance we ever had.

"Then we moved camp from the Milk River over toward the

[5] Wissler, loc. cit., cf. table opp. p. 868.

[6] Rodnick, David, The Fort Belknap Assiniboine of Montana, A study in culture change, New Haven, Conn., 1938, pp. 123–24.